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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-89-013

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[ERRATUM: In JPRS-UPA-89-012 of 13 February 1989 on the Contents page the first headline under SOCIAL ISSUES, i.e. "Official Urges Adherence To Declaration of Human Rights" p 25, was inadvertently omitted.]

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## Moldavian CP CC Supsov Presidium Meets

### USSR Constitutional Changes Discussed

18000260 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 1 Nov 88 p 1

[Informative statement by ATEM correspondent: "To Learn Everyone's Opinion"]

[Text] The first results of the discussion of the draft laws "On the USSR Constitution (Principal Law) changes and additions" and "On the USSR people's deputies' elections", as well as the tasks to organize this work, were discussed at the MoSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's meeting, which took place on 31 Oct 1988. The first secretaries of the cities' and rayons' Party committees, chairmen of the cities' and rayons' Soviets of people's deputies, and managers of the republican mass information media were invited to this meeting.

The first secretary of the Moldavian CP Central Committee S.K. Grossu, who spoke at the meeting, noted that the discussion of the draft laws must be organized in such a way that to prevent elements of formalism and to assure that opinions of the whole population are revealed. Discussions of these documents must serve the maximum activization of the soviet's activities in their territories and solving the problems raised by workers.

At the local level, the discussion will become a component of political reform to be implemented in our country. The Party gorkoms and raykoms must provide organizational support to this important and crucial political campaign. During this period, they are urged to assist by all available means the ispolkoms of the local Soviets and to raise concrete tasks in front of the primary Party organizations and public formations.

Each day convinces that the political system's reform, the necessity of which was stated at the 19th All-Union CPSU conference, is being transferred from an area of intentions into the area of actual implementation. The published documents represent not only a noticeable step toward the democratization of Soviet society, but also a road toward a state based on law.

The Chairman of the MoSSR Supreme Soviet's Presidium A.A. Mokuanu made a report on the organization of draft laws discussion. In particular, he noted that during the discussion of these documents in the workers' collectives and citizens' meetings, the speakers make proposals and comments directed on improvement of the draft laws. Letters with citizens' opinions arrive at the republican and local Soviet authorities, press offices, TV, and radio. Analysis of these proposals and comments allows us to make a conclusion that people are vitally interested in the increasing the soviets' role, want them to become the authorities of real people's power, and support the electoral system's democratization.

The ispolkoms of Beltsy and the Frunzenskiy, Oktyabrskiy, Chimishliyskiy, and Slobodzeyskiy rayons' soviets of people's deputies have widely spread the great organizational work of studying and discussing the draft laws. At the same time, more than 20 rayons and towns have not yet submitted any information about this work. The Komratskiy, Kutuzovskiy, Orgeyevskiy, Chernenkovskiy, and Dnestrovskiy rayispolkoms and the Kishinev gorispolkom are among them. And they just began this work in Dondyushany, Lazovsk, Ryshkany, and Tarakliya.

It is important that every worker of the Soviet authorities would express his opinion on these documents and introduce his proposals. At the same time, they must collect the people's opinions and do it not necessarily at the mass meetings, where not everybody can speak. We must use for this purpose discussions with deputies, citizens' and voters' groups, and workers of the Soviet authorities.

Several other directions of this important and large work were specified during the meeting.

### Increase in Alcoholism Noted

18000260 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 1 Nov 88 p 1, 3

[Informative statement: "Meeting of the MoSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] A regular meeting of the MoSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took place on 31 Oct 1988. The Chairman of the Presidium A.A. Mokuanu headed the meeting.

The issues connected with the carrying out the 11th session of the 11th convocation of the MoSSR Supreme Soviet were discussed. Its agenda and the session's order of work were discussed and approved.

The Presidium discussed the work of the commission for combatting hard drinking at the MoSSR Council of Ministers. It was noted that its work does not fully meet the urgency of the accumulated problems, is not sufficiently aggressive and effective, and is not always aimed at achieving the final socially beneficial results and at using the available possibilities for the further increase in participation of the broad people's masses in the fight against hard drinking.

The commission timidly realizes its authority of the main coordinator of the governmental institutions' and public organizations' activities directed toward prevention and eradication of hard drinking, poorly controls and directs the work of respective local commissions, and provides them with an inadequate methodical help in practical work, generalization, and spreading the positive experience. The necessary cooperation of the State, law and order, economic, and public institutions in the implementation of the anti-alcohol laws is not achieved.



The shortcomings in the commission's work are one of the reasons, why the situation in the republic with hard drinking and the negative phenomena connected with it remains tense. The number of chronic alcoholics is not going down, a tendency to drink alcoholic beverages at work is growing, and the number of delinquencies committed under influence of alcohol is increasing. The number of people making moonshine and those charged with criminal responsibilities for driving while intoxicated has increased by almost a half. The commission inadequately supports the anti-alcohol propaganda; as before, it lacks perkiness, and many educational and preventive measures do not reach the actual carriers of this social evil.

The Presidium charged the Commission for fighting hard drinking at the MoSSR Council of Ministers (M.S. Platon, chairman), by consistently implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party conference, to achieve a radical breakthrough in its work and to increase its effect on such a politically important social problem as eradication of hard drinking and drug addiction. It must take additional measures to provide a higher level of coordinating and directing the joint efforts of the state authorities and public organizations in assuring the strict and rigorous execution of legislation directed on fighting hard drinking and drug addiction, while providing at the same time the skillful combination of educational, economic, medical, and legal measures. Special attention must be paid to the removal of shortcomings in its work to prevent crimes committed due to intoxication, as well as to eliminate the causes and conditions creating such phenomena. It must organize a broad individual preventive and sanitary work with persons inclined to alcohol consumption and drugs.

The commission must build its work on the principles of glasnost and democratism being widely established in our life, which require a substantial increase in activities and responsibilities of every commission's member, initiative, competency, and innovation. It must analyze the input of each of them into the commission's activities and practice systematic reports informing about the work being carried out.

The local Soviets of people's deputies of the MoSSR are charged to provide increased leadership over the commissions for fighting hard drinking by directing their efforts toward strengthening ties with the permanent and other commissions of the local Soviets, deputies, labor unions, Komsomol organizations, and workers' collectives; to substantially activate the work of the voluntary society for fighting for sobriety, public points for protecting order, comrades' courts, and other public organizations; and to systematically analyze the efficiency of the educational work at people's places of residency, especially at the countryside. They must increase the personal responsibility and demand stricter from the managers and other authoritative persons at the enterprises, who close their eyes at drunkards, cover up cases of drunken appearance at

work and drinking alcoholic beverages at enterprises, and did not carry out a purposeful and consistent struggle with the labor discipline violators, persons abusing alcohol, absentees, and bad workers.

The Presidium also discussed certain other issues, including those connected with the control over documents adopted earlier, and adopted respective resolutions.

The deputy chairman of the MoSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium I.P. Morar, Presidium's members V.A. Vinebyacha and Zh. V. Donskaya, chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Plan and Budget commission N.A. Kutkovetskiy, and the deputy chairman of the MSSR Council of Ministers M.S. Platon participated in discussing the issues.

#### **Vagris Report to Latvian CP CC Plenum**

*18000413a Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
7 Jan 89 pp 2-3, 4*

[LATINFORM report on speech by Latvian CP Central Committee first secretary Ya.Ya. Vagris at the 5 January Plenum of the Latvian CP Central Committee: "Perestroika: Specific Matters, the Consolidation of Healthy Forces"]

[Text] As has already been reported, a plenum of the Latvian CP Central Committee took place on 5 January to discuss the question "On the Course of Fulfillment of the Decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and Urgent Tasks for the Republic Party Organization in Accelerating Perestroika at the Present Stage." The Latvian CP Central Committee first secretary Ya.Ya. Vagris presented a report on the matter under discussion.

Esteemed comrades. I think that I shall not be mistaken if I say that today we all very much need a well-considered party analysis of the state of affairs in the republic and an honest and candid discussion of the problems that we have encountered during the course of perestroika and renewal in our society.

The report of the Latvian CP Central Committee Buro that I have been assigned to present has reflected our common opinion on what are in our opinion the most acute and urgent issues along the path of accelerating perestroika.

We are convinced that those attending the plenum will help in analyzing the work that has been done and in providing an accurate political assessment of the many phenomena that have appeared or are appearing in life.

As we look back we can say that thanks to perestroika there have been changes for the better in the economy, in the social sphere and in public life.

Industry in the republic is giving increasing preference to intensive paths of development. Over the past 3 years output has risen 12 percent while the numbers of workers have been reduced by 15,000. The independence of the labor collective has grown and cost accounting is putting down deep roots.

Cooperative and leasehold forms of production have developed reliably in many cities and rayons. Almost 1,000 cooperatives are already operating in the republic. Last year alone they produced products worth R28 million. True, the public is also making many justified complaints about their work.

In the countryside about 200 collectives have concluded leasehold agreements. They have assumed responsibility for capital funds worth R30 million.

In the social sphere, although slow a turn can be seen toward meeting the needs of the people. Over the past 3 years more than 200,000 people have celebrated the move to new housing.

But of course, these are just the first positive results. Much remains to be done in order for people everywhere to feel the material fruits of perestroika.

The changes in social life are more obvious. The workers have better opportunities to display their social and political activeness more fully. People have started to offer their opinions openly and without fear on everything that is of concern to them.

Special acceleration was imparted to the processes of renewal by the 19th All-Union Party Conference, whose resolutions have been reflected in many proposals from the communists of our republic.

It is quite natural that during the course of perestroika not only individual persons but the entire people have started to react more strongly to the problems that have built up in the republic.

Many of those problems were discussed in May and June last year at plenums of the Latvian CP Central Committee, at the plenum of the creative unions, and at the inaugural congress of the Popular Front and the Forum of Latvian Peoples. In order to avoid repetition, I shall name only the most complicated problems.

Perhaps for the first time in many years we have really sensed the disproportion in the development of industry and agriculture. Growth rates for agricultural output are lagging significantly behind requirements. Hence the justified dissatisfaction on the part of the public with the empty shelves in the food stores.

And in industry, too, not everything is going as smoothly as it seemed. Essentially, instead of a unified, harmonious complex we have at our disposal a varied assortment of production facilities with an obsolete base and poor economic efficiency.

The old habit of extensive methods in management gave rise to excessive population migration. Things got to a point where the Latvian people started to feel alarm for the future of their own development on their own land.

And today's passion and a certain impatience on the part of some Latvians in resolving a number of issues concerning interethnic relations is a reaction caused by misgivings about their own fate. This we must understand and must take into consideration in our work.

At the same time we do not approve of the attempts to dramatize the situation in this sphere. It should also be noted that migration without restriction is complicating the lives not just of Latvians but also other inhabitants of the republic.

Perestroika has obviously given rise to a misalignment between the rights of the local soviets and the opportunities available to all-union departments. The former have neither funds nor real power. The latter have solid profits and a well-oiled mechanism for realizing departmental interests, and they are reluctant to consider the opinion of the local authorities.

The picture presented to us in the ecology is not comforting. Underestimation of environmental protection has led to a situation in which in many of the republic's cities and rayons people are justifiably worried about their health and their children's future.

Today everyone agrees that the "residual principle" in development of the social sphere has given rise to many problems in national education, public health and culture.

We have talked a great deal about successes in the field of developing Latvian-Russian bilingualism but in fact it has turned out that inadequate attention has been paid to the study of Latvian. Moreover, in some spheres the Latvian language has been supplanted, which, of course, is abnormal in a national republic.

Serious problems have been detected in people's spiritual development. The habit of thinking one thing while saying another and actually doing something yet again has inflicted serious harm on society's moral health.

We cannot agree with those who think that these and other problems have been born out of perestroika. Perestroika has merely exposed old ills that we have for a long time failed to notice and were reluctant to notice.

When people encounter such an abundance of difficult problems they face the following question: who is responsible for their occurrence?

At the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and its 27th CPSU Congress Congress the party provided an answer to this question and named the chief guilty parties in the pre-crisis situation in our society.

These are Stalinism, the period of stagnation and the administrative-command system.

Today we must all clearly understand that no nations or nationalities "won" during the period of stagnation, just as there were no peoples who avoided the bitter losses during the times of Stalin's tyranny.

Stalinism was our common misfortune, our common pain. All peoples experienced its evil influence. None of us wants to repeat the time of personality cult and the period of stagnation.

The central committee bureau is against any attempts to cast a shadow over the entire generations of people who had to live and work in those years. Instead of indiscriminate accusations what we need is specific analysis and consideration of the historical and political features of those two periods.

I think that this is precisely how we must also approach assessment of the decisions of the Latvian CP Central Committee 1959 Plenum and its consequences.

We emphasized this at last year's May Plenum. During the time that has elapsed since then the commission set up by the central committee has completed its work and presented its views. Many pieces dealing with the events of those years have been published in the press. Latvian television has organized a debate.

The material available makes it possible to conclude that the situation in Soviet Latvia in the late fifties was not cause to engage in an emergency review of the question "On the Serious Shortcomings and Errors in Work with Cadres and the Pursuance of National Policy in the Republic" at a plenum of the Latvian CP Central Committee.

Of course, we cannot accept as error-free the approaches at that time to work with cadres and language studies. There were omissions in the handling of international indoctrination. And command-administrative methods also played their own adverse role in the resolution of these issues.

At the same time, it was the commission's opinion that there were insufficient grounds for asserting that nationalist trends were growing in the republic. Even more unfounded were the accusations of "bourgeois nationalism" made against an entire group of leading workers in the republic, and their labeling as "rightist opportunists."

A number of communists were discredited. Some of them were members of the underground and active participants in the Great Patriotic War. They were gradually removed and pushed aside and their creative potential remained largely unutilized.

The Latvian CP Central Committee July (1959) Plenum took place under conditions of the complex confrontation that took shape after the 20th CPSU Congress between renewal and conservative trends. This had to be reflected in the course and direction of the plenum's work.

So that communists may have a more complete idea of the situation prevailing at that time in the republic, we deem it advisable to publish material from that plenum in *KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII*, with essential scientific commentaries. Then, giving due consideration to the opinion of communists, decisions will be made with regard to restoring the good names of people against whom unjustified accusations were made.

Critical examination of the past should not cancel out people's fates. Those who selflessly labored in the fields and in the factories, defended our motherland against the enemy and restored what was destroyed by the war are worthy of our profound respect.

The wise words of veterans of the party and the veterans of the war and of labor are today very important. Their rich experience of life helps us to assess the new phenomena more correctly and guards us against error and miscalculation.

Every people and every nation has its bright precept for honoring its ancestors. And we would do well to remember this.

Today it must be candidly stated that the blame for many of the shortcomings and deformations that are part of our legacy lies not only at the center and in departmental diktat.

At the local level in the republic, also, there were many people who, reluctant to complicate their own lives, pandered to the authors of worthless directives and instructions and erroneous commands. More than one of them made a career for himself by indulging high officials and receiving honors and titles.

Such workers also played a negative role in the deportations, the liquidation of the farmsteads and the organization of other sensational campaigns whose erroneous nature no one now denies.

The desire to set such mistakes to right is great. But history cannot be re-written. The better road is to prevent new errors. Communists have been openly saying this at the party conferences.

Many reproaches have been directed against the Latvian CP Central Committee and republic government for the haste in setting the priorities for national economic development already during the course of perestroika. There are undoubtedly grounds for discussion here.

In fact, at the start of the five-year plan we advanced the "Kachestvo-90" plan as a priority. Then the "Zhilishche-90" plan appeared. Now life is forcing us to give priority to agriculture.

I shall not diminish the significance of the "Kachestvo-90" and "Zhilishche-90" programs. They have played their own positive role, and continue to do so. Neither must we spare efforts on them in the future also. But dealing with the countryside in a solid way should have been done even earlier.

Perestroika has not only exposed many problems but has also created realistic prerequisites for solving them fairly. It has instilled in people the hope that they can and should live better.

Increasingly, people are realizing that they can and should live better. On this score there is complete unity in our society.

The entire question is how to achieve not barely noticeable percentage increases in growth but a qualitative leap forward, raising the living standard. This is really the core issue around which the most varied opinions and views are today colliding.

These disputes not infrequently acquire a national coloring and rebukes are sounded against a particular people.

But are we not oversimplifying the problem when we single out opinions only according to some national attribute? Does not the clash of different world outlooks and different approaches to development in our republic and toward socialism create tension?

Here it should be noted at once that not all people are declaring their position openly. Some of them present themselves to society in a veiled fashion, *caur pukem* as we say in the Latvian.

It is a secret to no one that some representatives of the older generation believe that in order to set things right all that is needed is the kind of system that existed under Ulmanis.

There are also many "theoreticians" who are trying unsuccessfully to find some kind of middle path between socialism and capitalism.

How do we answer them?

I think that no better answer can be provided than the one offered by our great poet Raynis.

In his letter to Dora and Petr Stuchka he wrote the following:

"You know my convictions: I want Latvia to be free; I cannot erase from history the nation or the individual because they are living organisms of history, as I am; and freedom is for me the same as the chance to live. I have always expected the free development of the people from socialism or, as you would say, communism, for the bourgeois or capitalist state and economic system cannot give this. Wherever there is a struggle between capitalism and socialism, I shall be on the side of socialism, as I have always been, even when the emphasis was laid on what had been forgotten in the dust of battle, namely, the nationalities."

We are not about to denigrate the successes that the Latvian people achieved in the twenties and thirties. They occurred both in the development of agriculture and in the sphere of education, science and culture. And it is bad thing that there was silence about this for such a long time.

But let us be candid, right through. This was a "golden age" for those who were rich, for those who owned land, factories and stores and comfortable houses, but those who cringed before their masters and went about in pastoral [translation unknown] were fighting for another society.

The history of Latvia during the post-October period and the influence of the socialist and bourgeois-democratic trends in the development of the republic on it must be shown honestly and comprehensively, in all their complexity.

But we cannot allow attempts to be made under the guise of criticism of Stalinism and Brezhnevism to thrust some idealized notion of bourgeois Latvia upon us and to sow the seeds of skepticism toward socialism.

Comrades.

Lately, particularly since the start of the political reform, there have been more disputes about ways to develop the sovereignty of the republic.

There are many opinions. There are the assertions by some unofficial organizations that the country should be left as a unified whole only in terms of its military and diplomatic apparatus. As for the rest, each republic will do as it likes. In other words, they are proposing that federation be replaced by confederation.

Well, let us see if we need this. I think that we have no need of any special proof for the assertion that within the union republics there is no justification for preaching different ideologies. And indeed it would be incomprehensible if the bases of Marxism-Leninism were interpreted in each republic in its own way.

Now on the subject of so-called total economic independence. Elementary logic shows that this exists nowhere in the world. There is no country that is absolutely independent of other countries or of the economic laws that require the division of labor and the development of specialization.

It is precisely for this rather than for some whim that countries unite and integrate, not to isolate production. Of course, in a subsistence economy everything can be done independently, but this is a road that leads nowhere.

A unified market and a unified national economic complex have been shaped in the country for historical reasons. They still have many defects and they require constant improvement. But this is the reality that cannot be ignored, at least not without a reason. It is simply not advantageous for us to weaken our economic ties with this complex.

Because of high prime cost or low quality our products are not particularly wanted in the West. They have a surplus of them there. And even the most responsive firms are not about to provide us with electric power and petroleum products and raw materials and equipment "simply for the asking."

Only naive people or those who have lost, or will soon lose, their national pride, count on gifts from the mag-nates in the West.

We are against isolationism and separatism. We favor strict observance of the Leninist principles of federalism, real sovereignty for the republic as part of the USSR, and urgent improvements in Soviet federation. We have already submitted many proposals on this subject to the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers and they are being met there with understanding.

The Latvian CP Central Committee Buro fully shares the position of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who has formulated the future federation of the Soviet republics as follows:

"Firm union is a strong center and strong republics. And as we understand it, union is all the republics together, in other words, their joint interest and collective will, with which every member of our federation must reckon."

While strengthening the independence of the republic in finding solutions to the most diverse questions, we must also give due consideration to the fact that this increases our responsibility for the consequences of the decisions we reach, both to our own people and to the other fraternal republics.

It is quite natural that there are different views on these and other issues and on the reasons for their occurrence and the ways to resolve them. And there is nothing strange in this. People of different generations, different convictions and different orientations in life and with varying degrees of political maturity are actively involved in perestroika.

The clash of different opinions and different approaches quite naturally leads to dispute. And this is fine: we have the opportunity to find the best solution more quickly and to prevent the occurrence of new mistakes.

But this is the trouble. Some of those involved in perestroika and groups of people often advance their own opinion as being the only correct one, and, what is worse, try to foist it on society come what may.

The pickets and meetings are on the march, the leaflets and the resolutions, the collections of signatures and the shaping of the consciousness with the aid of the mass media.

All of this could be seen with particular clarity during the course of the debate on the two new draft laws. Instead of participation in a constructive dialogue, people were asked to state a categorical "No" to the new laws. Signatures were collected even by minors, who had only a very vague idea of what was being talked about in the documents being debated.

Pressure was applied to the deputies of the republic Supreme Soviet and the USSR Supreme Soviet in the most unattractive forms.

The Buro was forced to issue a special resolution on the matter and to assign the newspapers CINA and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA to express a principled assessment of actions that had led many honest people into error.

But instead of recognizing the shameful nature of power pressure, new attacks followed, now aimed at the party newspapers.

It is often worth sounding a sober note, calling for restraint and prudence when the label of "enemy of perestroika" or "traitor to the people" is pinned on a reasonable person.

Is this really tolerance for another opinion? Is this really pluralism of opinion?

Of course not. It is that same attempt to impose conformity of opinion, only from a different side. It is that same diktat and the bellicose reluctance to engage in polemic and try to change an opponent's mind.

No, comrades, the central committee buro does not permit diktat, no matter which side may be preaching it. The party has initiated perestroyka not for new cults and culture members but for democracy, so that everyone may have equal rights to express and defend his opinion; so that no one may denigrate a person's dignity, and even less the dignity of a people.

No one is forbidding anyone to express his own opinion on any sore problem or to criticize any particular official. But we are categorically against the imposition of opinions, no matter what the form in which this may be done.

The idea is current in some groups and organizations that their decisions and resolutions are automatically binding on party and soviet organs.

Hence also the tone of ultimatum and command in their statements and documents. All of this is the consequence of poor political standards.

The champions of power methods should remember that we have appellant levels and procedures affirmed by law to resolve particular questions. These cannot be ignored.

The leaders of many new movements and groups prefer increasingly to speak on behalf of the people. I think that they should be more modest and more prudent in this matter.

In its time speculation on the opinion of the people brought much misfortune. So why repeat what has been rejected?

The emotional contortions that overwhelm meetings and belittle the dignity of many people are understandable but impermissible.

And in no case is there ever justification for communists to allow emotion to hold sway over reason at their meetings.

Emotions are necessary, of course. But to make policy only on emotions is impossible. Ill-considered and rash statements and speeches cost the authority of the party too dearly.

We must elevate ourselves above personal insult and defend our principled position staunchly, convincingly and correctly.

Comrades, the mass media play a major role in solving the urgent social and economic problems and in shaping standards for dealings between the nations.

They have done much, and still are, for the struggle against shortcomings and to increase the social need political activeness of the workers and expand glasnost, and we shall always remember this.

In recent years our press has, figuratively speaking, raised a storm of criticism across the republic. Much of it has been bitter, but in the main it is the truth that has been and is being spoken.

The republic press has also continued to build up within itself what might without exaggeration be called a powerful charge of purifying force. But assessment of the newspapers and of television and radio broadcasts differs among readers and audiences.

On the one hand there has been a surge of interest in them on the part of the workers and the circulation of newspapers and journals and their popularity have seen unprecedented growth. On the other hand, there have been complaints and collective protests from the labor collectives.

A great deal of criticism has been directed toward some of the Latvian radio and television broadcasts, the newspapers PADOMJU JAUNATNE, SKOLOTAJU AVIZE and LATVIYSKIY MORYAK and the journal RODNIK.

This criticism, I think, must be accepted without taking offense. Without any doubt the journalists are right and they should criticize shortcomings and those to blame for them in a bold, sharp and constructive manner. But at the same time it should be remembered that people and the party committees also have a right to criticize the journalists. There is no forbidden zone in party, soviet or economic organs that is above criticism. Neither should there be any in the mass media.

If you regularly read the newspaper PADOMJU JAUNATNE (editor: communist A.Ya. Tsirulis), then you involuntarily think: whose organ is this? It is sometimes difficult to find on its pages any material on the affairs and concerns of young people in the Komsomol organizations of the republic. And this is its main business.

The illustration by artist Yuris Utans in issue No 10 of the journal RODNIK evoked stormy indignation in thousands of people. And the explanations given by the journal editor, communist A. Klyavis in the "Labvakar" program does not stand up to criticism.

The shortcomings in the work of the newspaper PADOMJU JAUNATNE and the journal RODNIK and their ideological impunity are the direct result of poor leadership in those publications on the part of the republic Komsomol central committee and its secretaries—comrades I.Ya. Priyeditis and B.K. Stashane. These

publications must be helped to find their place in perestroika more quickly, and greater exactingness must be shown toward the editors in the matter of raising the ideological level of the material published.

Communists are complaining about a number of city and rayon newspapers. In YURMALA, Liyepaya's KOMMUNIST, Yelgava's DARBA UZVARA, and Tukum's KOMUNISMA RITS there is clearly little material on party matters. Particular ill-considered statements by these publications are causing serious harm to their authority.

Publication of the letter from the "Era" Production Association in the large-circulation newspaper TEMP, in which, without any kind of proof the author pins insulting labels on his own comrades and the republic leaders, can only be regarded as a political error.

The inability and reluctance of the party committees to organize the efficient operation of the newspapers that are their own organs can now be felt. They are all waiting for special instructions from the central committee, but they must act themselves.

This kind of "noninterference" promises nothing good. The party committees are totally responsible for the work of their own publications and they rightly demand from them a correct line in the elucidation of all matters.

Only condemnation is heard for the attempts by some journalists to place their newspaper or journal above the party or Komsomol committee and dictate their own conditions to it.

This is a clear violation of the principles on which the Soviet press is built. The mass media cannot be the patrimony of some over zealous editor or some group of journalists.

Attempts to remove the words "Soviet" and "Communism" from the titles of newspapers are provoking many questions. It would be possible to understand this desire if it were a question of names that had compromised themselves during the years of personality cult or stagnation. But what is the fault of concepts that have suffered in the difficult struggle by the peoples?

We do not support lightweight phrase-mongering, including the names of newspapers. But in resolving questions concerning their renaming we must approach things with a special sense of responsibility and consider the political consequences of such decisions.

Many criticisms have recently been heard regarding the central press for its one-sided handling of the sociopolitical processes taking place in the republic. And some of the pieces published provide justification for this. But let us look at the other side of this question; have many of our leaders, experts and scholars offered their own

services to the all-union press and told about their own problems? Very few. But no one can better explain our problems and doubts to people than we can.

Neither can we pass over in silence the phenomenon of the so-called independent publications that have appeared in the republic on the wave of glasnost and democracy. They include the journals TRETYA MODERNIZATSIYA and AUSEKLIS, an information bulletin from a self-styled news agency, and others.

The "pluralism" that they declare in fact is close to the propaganda of chauvinism, anti-Sovietism and national exclusivity, a distortion of the reality and an attempt to present their own opinion as the last word in truth. And it would be politically improper to close our eyes to the activity of such publications.

Analysis of the operation of these publications proves convincingly that they serve not the people of labor but groups of people laying claim to a special role in society, who think that the existing publications have not yet reached their peak.

We think that there is a direct intent to bring the activity of the unofficial publications and their editorial offices into line with the law. Resolution of this task must be entrusted to the republic Ministry of Justice.

The mass media must be subordinate to the existing rules and be developed within the framework of the legal socialist state. Steps are now being taken to create a more stable base for legal regulation in this sphere. As you know, a law on the press is being prepared.

But, of course, no law can replace the civic position and party responsibility of leaders in the mass media and the entire corps of journalists.

Many principled and ideologically convinced communists are working in the mass media. They must be promoted more boldly to leading posts.

When we say that we must learn to work in conditions of democracy this also applies in full to leaders in the mass media.

Under present conditions the press and radio and television must adequately reflect public opinion rather than the opinion of individual dissatisfied persons or groups.

In order to achieve this, what is needed is a new, very high quality for work in journalism. In the times of complimentary journalism there was little need for analysis, and superficiality and primitivism were forgiven.

Now the requirements are different. The journalist often plays the role of critic and counselor and he is obliged to know the essential nature of the phenomena and facts about which he is writing or speaking.

We are alarmed by the lack of agreement by many television viewers with certain appeals, statements and opinions from particular journalists in the republic state television and radio. In particular, many such complaints have been made about the program "Labvakar."

Of course, life is such that each person perceives and experiences what he sees and reads in his own way, through the prism of his own experience of life. This is natural.

It is another matter when an ill-considered word is ambiguous and deliberately or by chance denigrates, and sometimes even insults people's dignity and feelings.

We have already reminded journalists on more than one occasion that special tact is needed in the elucidation of problems concerning interethnic relations.

In this field the mass media often serve not as a mirror but as a magnifying glass. With the aid of an ill-considered statement some minor local conflict grows to such a scale that the entire republic is disturbed and is split into two parts.

The kind of epithets that some authors give the inhabitants of non-indigenous nationality. Every now and then we hear the words migrants, colonizers, colonialists, aliens, foreigners and so forth.

Is this not insulting to people who have linked their destinies with the destiny of Latvia and in an overwhelming majority of cases are working conscientiously for the good of all the peoples in the republic?

What kind of feelings were evoked in the cultured person by the article by P. Udris published in RODNIK? In any event, a reluctance to stretch forth the hand one to another. Judge for yourselves:

"The question of the large mass of colonists can also only be resolved without disturbing the linguistic inertia that is so typical of them, for if people have no interest in the Latvian nation and language, then why not move them, the colonists, using a planned procedure and observing the principles of mutual advantage, together with the housing and the enterprises and the products that they need, back to Russia," and so forth and so on.

These essays bring honor neither to the author nor to the editors who have given the "OK" for publication.

The work of the mass media in illuminating the problems of interethnic relations should in the immediate future become the subject of searching analysis by the central committee ideological commission that central committee secretary I.Ya. Kezbers has been assigned to lead.

In our life and in interethnic relations it is possible to find all kinds of facts and cases and conflicts and shortcomings. But before presenting them to a wide

audience it is essential to think about them not 7 but 77 times and consider how this will reflect on relations between persons and peoples living in the republic.

I am certain that a statement, written, spoken, shown, can help to strengthen a friendship and mutual understanding. But if there is even a shadow of doubt, hold back, think again, seek the advice of more experienced comrades.

And of course, in no case is it permissible to spread rumors or publicize unconfirmed facts. This, unfortunately, does happen, even in reputable publications.

Heating up a situation is not as harmless as some assert.

The militia log testifies eloquently to this. Over the past 6 months two dozen nationality-related incidents have already been recorded in which not only moral standards but also the penal code were violated.

This is many times more than in previous years. Fortunately they are still isolated incidents.

But in Armenia and Azerbaijan the mass disorders also started from local conflicts.

The party and soviet organs and the intelligentsia are now criticizing themselves for the fact that they did not stop the extremists earlier but allowed national sentiments to grow into nationalism.

And nationalism is a very dangerous phenomenon. Petr Stuchka noted that in his time.

He wrote the following: "Nationalism is a disease and in those who become sick with it just once it recurs, even if in a milder form. And its nastiest property is that it can dull even the most lucid mind."

Some people think that here in the republic we have no cause for concern. The various isolated manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism at the domestic level, they say, is just like the rust that appears when you open a faucet that has not been used for a long time.

I would very much like to believe this. But what is alarming is that democracy and glasnost have opened not a faucet but many dams. And they have all been opened at the same time. And a flood is not harmless. It sweeps along everything in its path—the bad and the good.

It is impossible not to notice that perestroyka has awakened not only healthy forces. Those who yearn for the old order have also reared up their heads. Along with them there are many who carry grudges from the old times,



both justified and unjustified. The mediocrities suffering from illusions of grandeur are displaying uncommon activeness worthy of better application.

They all want to snatch a larger piece of the pie and they yearn for power, cleverly masking their intentions with revolutionary phrases and the slogans of perestroika.

Worse, they sometimes find supporters among credulous people and among those who have forgotten the ancient wisdom.

And this wisdom says: "Individuals learn from their mistakes but peoples from their tragedies." I am sure that our people remember this and will not allow themselves to be distracted by the fine-sounding phrases of irresponsible political dilettantes.

It is reckoned naively that the conservatives or extremists will just disappear, like foam. Nothing goes away by itself, or grows shallow. Against negative phenomena there must be struggle—long and persistent.

No one should forget that everything that is being done today in the republic or that will be done tomorrow must still be answerable to the people and to history. If not immediately, then later. But answerable it will be.

Democracy is a thing of value but we must know how to use it. Otherwise we shall move in the other direction. Away from democracy.

Today we must state candidly that we do have some small but aggressive groups that, speculating on economic, social, interethnic and ecological problems, are taking active steps to enkindle anti-Soviet and separatist sentiments.

It is a question first and foremost of groups like "Helsinki-86" and "The Movement for the National Independence of Latvia" and their leaders Yu. Vidinsh and E. Berkjav.

The program statements of these groups call for the gradual elimination of the existing state order in the Latvian SSR and denial of its legality, and they do not recognize the historical choice made by the workers of Latvia in favor of socialism.

Essentially this is direct support for the regrettable anti-Soviet doctrine of "policy of non-recognition" of the Baltic republics, a doctrine taken from the ideological arsenal of certain imperialist states.

It is difficult to say that the actions of these groups are loyal to soviet power. Let us recall some of them.

On 5 December activists from the "Helsinki-86" group paid their latest visit to the U.S. embassy in Moscow and "on behalf of the Latvian people" no less, handed in a "petition" to the U.S. Government.

In that petition it was asserted, with a startling insolence, that the Latvian people look with hope to the United States—a government that does not recognize that Latvia is part of the Soviet Union.

Later, with total submissiveness, they asked for any kind of help and support in their struggle against the Soviet authorities in Latvia. And this was done in the name of the Latvian people!

In another pasquinade, now in the name of the UN secretary general, Yu. Vidinsh and his supporters draw a terrible picture of the hopeless position of the Latvian people under the genocide of the USSR.

Slander is being spread, along with insulting and shameful epithets about Soviet people. They assert that under the conditions prevailing in the USSR, conditions are not guaranteed for the existence and survival of the nation and that a request should be submitted to the United Nations, which should demand the withdrawal of USSR "forces of occupation" from Latvia and restoration of the independence of the Baltic countries.

An astonishing breadth of power. One asks: who has empowered the leaders of the "Helsinki-86" group to act in making these kinds of statements on behalf of the Latvian people? There are just as many "inquiries" about the "Movement for the National Independence of Latvia." In its program statement circulated throughout the republic the description of present-day Latvia amounts to defining it as "a colony whose administration is managed from the mother country."

The leaders of the "Movement for the National Independence of Latvia" group regard the Latvian SSR as an illegally formed colonial administrative unit that rests on the occupation troops of the USSR, a political-repressive apparatus, a hierarchical structure in the bureaucracy and lies, demagoguery and an Marxist ideology mutilated by Stalin.

Attention is drawn in this "program" to the frequent underscored references to the Latvian People's Front and its program. This is an obvious attempt to hide the mercenary purposes under the authority of the People's Front since Yu. Vidinsh and E. Berkjav are members of its Duma.

The question involuntarily arises: how does the Latvian People's Front itself regard this kind of statement?

For communists, compromises with these kinds of views are impossible and they have nothing in common either with the democratization, pluralism of opinion or even the very idea of perestroika and the renewal of socialism.

No one should have any doubt that the communists will defend with all their might the socialist choice by the workers of Latvia and their socialist values and ideals.

We shall rid them of dogmatism and Stalinist distortions and shall renew them in the process of perestroika, but we shall also defend them at every step! The central committee bureau is certain that the working people will understand and support us in this.

And now a few words about one thesis that is often used by those groups and their supporters. It is the attempts to present the complex and contradictory events of 1940 as an occupation by the Soviet Union, and to draw from this the conclusion that the only way to resolve any problems is supposedly to eliminate the occupation and drive out the occupiers.

It is the task of the historians to provide an honest and complete answer to all matters concerning past history. However, there is profound and principled political meaning in speculation about history. And we rightly do not remain silent on this score.

We cannot defend the methods of force that Stalin and those close to him used in their foreign policy regarding relations with Latvia.

At the same time, however, something else should not be forgotten. History itself gave the Latvian people a choice—to fight alongside the USSR against fascism, or to march with the fascists against the first country of socialism.

The people of labor, led by the Latvian CP, made their historic choice in favor of socialism and confirmed their self-determination in the heroic struggle on the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War.

And so for almost half a century, together with the other peoples of the country we have been moving along the path of socialism. Much has happened along that difficult path—happiness and misfortune, unheard-of wrongs, losses and gains. But it has been precisely along this path that the workers have been convinced that only socialism creates the best social protection for the individual.

Having analyzed the negative phenomena that built up during the development of society, our party concluded that the main reason for this lay not in the nature of socialism or in its essence. It lay in the serious retreats from the principles of scientific socialism, from the Leninist principles in creating the new society, and this was expressed in the absolutization of the command-administrative system and in the tyranny and lawlessness that humiliated people.

Our people will never agree with those who assert that nothing good has been created here since 1940. There are achievements both in the economy and in culture.

It is another matter that much has been done without any consideration of the republic's special features and to the detriment of harmonious development in society and the economy; which led in a law-governed way to the need for perestroika.

It is precisely the policy of perestroika, initiated by the party, that has opened up for us a realistic possibility for purging ourselves and renewing socialism.

We see perestroika not in the destruction but the consolidation of socialism, and in elimination of the deformations that Stalinism and the period of stagnation brought to it. This is why we are not simply for democracy but for socialist democracy and for socialist pluralism of opinions and views.

It is exactly thus, from the standpoint of today's political realities, that we must evaluate the thoughts of those who preach and propagandize the thesis on the occupation of Latvia.

These people have no interest in the events of 1939-1940 in the Baltic, or are interested in them only as an argument. For historical truth is established not at meetings by shouting or voting "Aye" or "Nay" but is found in the archives and documents and by talking with its contemporaries.

In fact these people are engaged in discrediting socialism and drawing up plans for its gradual elimination. They essentially place an equals sign between 1940 and 1988, between Stalinism and perestroika, calling it neo-Stalinism.

This is nothing but political adventurism.

Such is the main political and ideological meaning of the actions by those who defend the thesis on the occupation of Latvia, which the "Helsinki-86" and "Movement for the National Independence of Latvia" groups still think to this day.

We think that the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium must carefully analyze the idea from the procuracy that the activity of these groups is unconstitutional and raise the question of their very existence.

They are not supporters but ardent opponents of perestroika who are using a number of its slogans to conceal their own improper aims. Party and soviet organs and the mass media must convincingly explain this to the public.

It is a pity that the extremist forces are compromising the People's Front, which unites many sincere supporters of perestroika. Of course, there are also people who are jumping on the bandwagon, time-servers and those who love scandalous popularity. Sometimes they even set the tone of the meetings. But they will not define the essential nature of this movement.

While taking part in the creation of the People's Front groups (and this is what happened during the initial stage of its formation) the party organs wanted to see the People's Front as a worthy ally in the struggle against bureaucracy and hidebound attitudes, and against social parasitism and inertia, and as an aide in accelerating perestroika; and it still wants this.

This is also how the idea of creating the People's Front was perceived by most workers. And it should be noted that it has done much to promote perestroika.

The efforts by the People's Front to develop national self-awareness, create national-cultural societies, propagandize the achievements of Latvian culture, restore ancient monuments, provide material assistance for soldiers who carried out their international duty in Afghanistan, and participate in the preparations for and holding of the Forum of the People's of Soviet Latvia have evoked a broad response among the public.

This, of course, is far from a full list of the good deeds of the People's Front. The actions of its groups at the local level are usually very constructive in nature.

They are helping people not with words but with deeds to defend their legitimate interests and become actively involved in finding solutions to the problems that have built up in particular labor collective or settlements.

We saw convincing evidence of this during the meeting in Dobelskiy rayon with workers from the "Naudite" sovkhos. Many members of the People's Front attended that meeting.

They did not present ultimatums, did not engage in hours of discussion about whether Stalin or Hitler was the worse, but introduced businesslike proposals for the construction of a school, repairs to roads and other problems of concern to the inhabitants of the settlement.

The extreme statements by some figures in the People's Front at the inaugural congress and at a number of meetings, their reluctance to come to terms with the realities, and the use of political demagoguery are undermining trust in this organization among the workers, especially in Riga.

For today, what people primarily expect is specific work to improve their lives. And there is no end to this work.

For example, at many enterprises they are giving up on the desire to improve working conditions. The administration is in no hurry. The exactingness of People's Front groups would be appropriate here.

It would not be out of place to show an interest in why perestroika is proceeding so slowly in our ZHER's [expansion unknown], and what our engineers and technicians are doing there.

And take trade and consumer services. The overcharging, the short weights, the lines, the laying aside of goods, the speculation.

Why do not the People's Front groups declare war on these shortcomings?

But when the talk moves in this direction they tell us: you are trying to lead us away from politics.

So this means that building houses and purification plants and caring for people's urgent needs is not politics?

So it turns out that the party and the soviets must care for people and the People's Front will monitor their work.

Do we not already have too many controllers? The party is not against control by the people, and communists are always pleased to receive constructive proposals from nonparty people.

I think that the public organizations should also constantly remember that that they are also accountable to the people. And the people rightly demand specific action to accelerate perestroika, both from the People's Front and from Interfront.

Here, it is not out of place to recall the words of V.I. Lenin. He says: "At one time what was needed was declarations, manifestoes, decrees. We have had enough of that. These things were necessary at one time to show the people how and what we wanted to build.... But can we just continue to show the people what we want to build? Of course not! In this case the simplest worker will scoff at this. He will say: 'You have shown us everything you want to build, now show us if you really can build it if fact, if you really can. If you cannot, then we can part company....!' And he will be right."

It is fine that the members of Interfront conduct subbotniks to clean out installations and repair children's homes. But this is little enough. People expect more.

The social processes connected with the formation of the International Front of Workers of the Latvian SSR show that here we also have people who have assumed extremist stances and are trying to speak to their opponents in the language of diktat.

It is also to be regretted that during the process of the formation of Interfront there was no proper rebuff for conservatism, national nihilism and the orientation on the stereotypes of former years.

In short, each movement has its pluses and minuses. They have much in common, although there are also different approaches to the same problems. We have no right to contrast these organizations, for in the main

their aspirations coincide: they want to accelerate perestroika. And they must be given help in selecting the proper ways to achieve this goal.

But we, comrades, must look truth in the eye: in connection with the formation of the Latvian People's Front and Interfront there is a polarization of the population along national lines.

Communists are working in both fronts and there is a certain stratification in the party, and this is impermissible.

What we need is not a split but a consolidation.

In the consolidation of all healthy forces in society the leading role of party is particularly important, from the Latvian CP Central Committee to the primary party organizations.

This must be clear to each communist. It is precisely the party through its members that should guide and coordinate the activity of all public organizations and movements.

Restoration of full power to the soviets and the switch to practical action also require a stronger role for the party.

Speaking at the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet M.S. Gorbachev emphasized the following: "The party was the initiator of perestroika and today it is the engine of renewal and is itself being renewed on Leninist principles. Only the party with its authority and possibilities is capable of playing a unifying role and of integrating diverse and sometimes contradictory social interests into a unified policy."

During the time that has elapsed since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, much has changed also in the Latvian CP. It has been a period of stepped-up work to deepen democratization, extend glasnost, introduce new management methods and renew ideological work.

Much that is new has appeared in the forms and methods of work. This is confirmed also by the party conferences that have taken place, each of which has become an event for the corresponding city or rayon and has shown who is promoting the good of the people, not just in word but in deed.

The central committee buro has conducted a principled analysis of the results of the accountability-and-election campaign. You have already had an opportunity to familiarize yourselves with a number of the assessments of this important political events from today's newspapers.

The main and perhaps most valuable thing in the accountability reports and elections that have taken place is the visible democratization in internal party life.

Exactingness toward communists has been raised.

Some 55 party groups, the secretaries of 29 shop party organizations and 34 primary party organizations, and the Limbzhskiy party raykom were given an unsatisfactory work evaluation.

Almost one-third of our party group organizers have been renewed, and the figure for the secretaries of shop and primary party organizations is almost 40 percent. The fact that almost half of the new party leaders have been elected from among several candidates is of fundamental importance.

There was much to alarm in the election results. I would say that the fact that as a result of the secret ballot at the conferences 13 secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms were voted out is a lesson and a reproach for our cadre policy.

It is a stern but necessary lesson. Among other things it forces us to assess anew our traditional and in many ways still form-filling approaches to the formation of reserve cadres and training and indoctrination for that reserve. The central committee commission on organizational party work and cadre work, which we have today set up, must thoroughly look into this.

And there is yet another lesson. The candid nature of the debate on urgent problems, the critical nature of the conversations, and the frank nature of the assessments are undoubtedly objects of the democratization in party life. But we do not need them just for themselves but as a tool for the constructive work that lies ahead. And it was precisely a lack of constructiveness that we saw at these past accountability and election sessions.

The accountability reports and elections showed that the party committees and buros and their secretaries are sometimes losing themselves in the complex and unusual situation, thinking that once we have achieved democracy we shall stand aside and not intervene, and let these democratic processes move ahead all by themselves.

This was seen, in particular, in the Riga, Kuldiga, Tsis and Valmiyera raykoms, where they remained aloof from active participation in the initial formation of proposals concerning the makeup of the election organs and failed to promote their own candidates.

A thorough analysis of the state of affairs at the local level makes it possible to conclude that perestroika in the activity of a number of party organizations is still moving ahead only slowly.

The habit of waiting for instructions from above has not been outgrown, and democratization in internal party relations is not at the proper level; relapses into the command-administrative style of leadership are still seen, along with subjectivist approaches and a reluctance to accept today's realities.

It would be incorrect to reproach only others. We—the members of the central committee and workers in the central committee apparatus—also have our low tides and high tides and we continually use campaign methods in our activity.

The criticism that the Latvian CP Central Committee and Buro are not always abreast of the course of events is justified. By no means the last role is being played here by the long-drawn-out process of staff relocations and changes. They are now virtually complete, and we rightly demand creative work from the apparatus.

As before, many central committee members and candidate members are showing inadequate political activeness. Some of them rarely speak even in the labor collectives that sent them as delegates to the central committee.

From the local level they often remind us that party leaders, including members of the buro, are rarely seen at the debates, on television programs, or on the pages of the press. Serious conclusions must be drawn from this and the situation must be corrected.

It must be self-critically admitted that the central committee buro and the party gorkoms and raykoms are sometimes slow to make principled assessments of new phenomena and processes. We must be bolder and more persistent.

Even in the most complex of situations we have no right to avoid making decisions on some acute question or to give the impression that nothing is happening or that we are trying to please someone in particular.

We are obliged to have our view on everything and to implement in a principled manner the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

As V.I. Lenin pointed out, a hard line and its inflexible determination is also a factor of attitude, particularly at the most revolutionary moments.

Consistent extension of the rights and powers and responsibilities of the primary party organizations and their emancipation from petty tutelage do not, of course, mean that the party gorkoms and raykoms are relieved of the obligation to insure effective political leadership by the party organizations. This function has been and remains paramount for them.

It is impossible to be reconciled to the fact that they are still often waiting for "assessments" and a "political line" from above and relying on the omnipotence of decisions handed down by higher organs. Today, initiative is needed everywhere, along with combativeness in the primary party organizations themselves and the ability of each communist to be an ideological and political fighter for the party.

Not all members of party have been up to having this placed on their shoulders. Some have even submitted notice of resignation. These comrades must be helped more quickly to overcome this lack of confidence in their own strength.

At the same time we shall not confirm people who place personal ambition above the party Rules and Program.

Today as at no other time what we need is effective measures and daily organizational and indoctrination work to strengthen party discipline. For it is on this that the unity of our party largely depends. And we must cherish it as the apple of our eye.

We must also note that in some places the party organizations have become debating societies, where they have forgotten that the main organizational principle in party development is democratic centralism, which demands undeviating compliance by each communist with party decisions.

Some people contrive to say one thing at the party sessions and something else at the meetings. Let us today agree clearly and firmly that incorrect actions outside the party by communists and their delusions and political errors must be assessed in a principled manner, and demands imposed that they correct them. We have one thing—Marxist-Leninist ideology—and we are obliged to defend it against attacks both from the right and the left.

If a member of the party fails to listen to the opinion of communists the question of his continued membership in the party must be raised.

"The party is a voluntary union," V.I. Lenin said, "that would inevitably become inflamed, first ideologically and then materially, if it did not purge itself of members who preach antiparty views."

Today the central committee buro reminds communists in all seriousness that by joining the party they have voluntarily made their political choice and have pledged themselves to observe the CPSU Rules and party discipline. And their deeds must not be different from their word.

Moral self-purification and strict exactingness toward oneself for any blunders committed is the first condition for honest and effective struggle by any communist to renew society and for our common, truly party interests rather than purely personal interests.

Many communists are actively involved in the new movements, and in them they must pursue party policy, never the opposite. They must persistently seek out ways to bring the positions of the People's Front and Interfront closer. There is a basis for constructive cooperation between the new movements.

This is respect for the basic values of socialism and the laws and principles for the activity of the Soviet political system, and a sincere rather than declarative desire to accelerate perestroika.

Only these kinds of approaches can accelerate renewal and consolidation of the healthy forces in our society. And today this is a most important task for anyone involved in perestroika.

Work with young people should be a subject of special concern for the party. They constitute the most active segment of our society. They are looking for points to apply their energy.

Young people want to understand all the processes taking place in our society. The party committees must support this desire without vacillation. They must teach young people the Leninist method for analysis of social processes and help them to find their place in perestroika.

Who shows them the way is very important—a real communist or a self-styled mentor who is not imbued with any special love for soviet power. We must not permit the rostrums in youth auditoriums to be occupied by various kinds of extremists appealing not for creation but destruction.

It pleases them to show off in front of young people who lack ideological tempering and whose experience of life is meager. At such moments the uninvited counselors remind us, to use the words of the poet, of those "daredevils" who lie at the embrasures when they know that no guns have been there long since.

But young people are often unaware of this and and they are bewitched by the pathos and maximalism of irresponsible orators. Their appeals can turn the heads of many and incite them to improper action.

No one has relieved or will relieve communists of responsibility for improving the labor, moral and military-patriotic indoctrination of young people. If we want to see our own replacement shift of work-loving, morally pure people who love their motherland and are ready to defend it then we must help it to become this.

Very many disputes are now airing with regard to service in the army, the need to create national military units, and military departments in the VUZ's.

Our position on these issues is clear. We support relaxation and arms reductions. But it is naive to think that there is now no longer any need for an army. And today each young person must go through this school of courage and tempering. For defense of the homeland is the sacred duty of each citizen.

It is hardly expedient to break up the existing structure of the Armed Forces and create in each republic and each national okrug their own military formations now, when

they are beginning to be cut back. And if it were, it is quite possible that the number of young men who would be needed to serve in their native places would increase.

It is up to the leadership of the republic military registration and enlistment office and the Baltic Military District to resolve this problem.

The work of military departments in the VUZ's must also be improved, and their useful return increased. This is to the advantage of both students and the army. Chancellors must now be given more extensive rights to improve training processes, and they must exercise those rights.

We must pay more attention to international indoctrination. Here, there are few international friendship clubs. It is necessary to find new approaches. In solving these questions, special responsibility rests with the family, the school and the teachers. It is precisely they who must germinate the seeds of friendship in the children's souls and instill respect for people regardless of their nationality.

This is why we must not approve the actions of those people who begin to divide schools into two streams right in the middle of the academic year. If there is a need to do this in some particular place then it must be done with extreme tact; it should not inflame passions, be done impulsively or move to the language of ultimatums.

Whither such haste can lead can be seen from the events that took place in the Riga No 85 secondary school.

In our view, the the buro of the Riga party gorkom moved correctly in reviewing and evaluating the situation with regard to two-stream schools. We believe that the operation of the two-stream schools as educational establishments of a special type is quite permissible given conditions that guarantee unity of the educational and indoctrination process in the school.

The Ministry of Education must insure proper clarity in following the principled line on the question of relations between the school and the church, which, in line with the Constitution, are separated one from the other. Here it is essential to proceed from the secular nature of education from the positions of Marxism.

At the same time, humanitarian education and students' deeper knowledge in the field of culture must be developed, including their knowledge of religion as a cultural-historical phenomenon.

Communists must give due consideration to the fact that there is a crisis of the old methods in the republic Komsomol, and they must be re-evaluated. This largely

determines, on the one hand, the dissatisfaction of young people with the state of affairs; while on the other it is giving rise to initiative "from below" aimed at normalizing the youth organization. It is essential to support the efforts of the Latvian Komsomol Central Committee connected with eliminating command methods and bureaucratic rule and everything that arose during the period of stagnation.

It is essential everywhere to restore the Leninist principle in mutual relations between the party and the Komsomol. The Komsomol is in solidarity with the party and recognizes its leading role, but itself determines the forms and methods of its own work. Communists working in the Komsomol must not command but help the members of the Komsomol to restructure their work more quickly, in both the lower and the leading wings.

Comrades. The political reform that has been initiated is presenting our party with the need to conduct a fundamental re-examination of the limits of competence and functions of party and soviet organs, and also the administrative-management organs.

The party and its leading organs are called upon to pay more attention to strategic issues in the development of society. When resolving everyday problems the party committees should first and foremost demand sensible and constructive actions from other structures.

Of course, at first, perhaps, we shall often have to correct soviet organs and the administrative-management organs since they have become accustomed to the old practice of waiting for instructions.

It is essential to be more persistent in accustoming them to independence and full responsibility for the decisions they reach and their political consequences.

When we say that the party gorkoms and raykoms must act as organs of political leadership this does not mean that their responsibility for the economy is diminished. The task is to insure through political methods the smooth operation of the entire diverse system of the soviet and economic organs, the public organizations and the unofficial groups and associations in order to achieve the common goals of perestroika. Here, it is important to give due consideration to the interests of all strata of the population and to be able to direct their energy into the proper channel.

During the course of political reform special attention should be paid to strengthening the independence of the local soviets. It is essential to insure everywhere a decisive turn away from the dominance of the administrative system and toward the power of the people.

Party decisions insistently dictate the need to accelerate radical perestroika in the style and methods of work by all soviet organs and the entire management apparatus, and to achieve a decisive purging of bureaucratic layers.

The election campaign must today be the first priority in the activity of the party organizations. Communists are obligated to concern themselves with insuring that at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, competent, politically mature people capable of defending in a worthy manner the interests of our republic are elected.

They should be real representatives of the people who want to renew socialism and accelerate perestroika, and should be capable of distinguishing the minute-by-minute mood of the people from the real historical interests of the people, and of seeing that they do not always coincide.

Only those public figures whose actions are dictated by concern for the long-term, vital interests of the people rather than concern with achieving a cheap popularity are truly worthy of trust.

We must recognize with particular clarity that the voters will now be comparing not only the candidates but also the platforms that they propose.

Permit me to acquaint you briefly with the main content of the platform that the central committee bureau proposes that communist candidates for the positions of USSR people's deputies adopt.

The center of all party work should be concern for the individual and improvement in his living and working conditions and his spiritual growth. The Latvian CP should be a leader and a bold sponsor of political reforms in the republic. The basis for this was laid in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee November (1988) Plenum on political reform in the field of state development.

In the immediate future the commission on questions of state-legal work, which must be confirmed today, should jointly with the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium lead work on legislative enactments creating the basis for establishing a legal socialist state in the republic. It is essential to insure that the soviets in the republic enjoy real not declarative power. This should be taken into account when work is done on the new Constitution, designed to guarantee real sovereignty for the republic as part of the USSR.

Here, it is impossible to work to gain cheap popularity and play on people's feelings. The creation of legislation does not permit this. If we want to create a truly legal state then work on its laws must be done seriously and thoroughly.

It is also high time to start work on the principles and forms for the activity of the future Congress of People's Deputies and the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, which will be in permanent session, and also the legal mechanisms and procedures that will insure the most democratic elections of the deputies and the effectiveness of this high government organ.

Complying with the instructions from voters, the party organs are continuing work to strengthen the economic independence of the republic initiated last year. It is necessary to translate the idea of republic cost accounting from the political plane into the channel of practical decisions.

Here, there must be a clear-cut delineation of obligations. The scholars provide the theoretical foundation and the Council of Ministers the practical program, while the party organs provide the political guarantees.

The central committee buro believes that all preparatory work by the Council of Ministers and the Gosplan to switch the republic to the principles of self-management and self-funding should be completed already this year. And the new principles of leadership in the economic and social spheres should go into operation from January 1990.

When working on the optimal model it makes sense also to take into account the constructive proposals expressed in his time by the eminent economist Paul Dzerve.

What we have in mind is that simultaneously with the republic's switch to cost accounting and self-financing, all cities and rayons in the republic should also make the switch. This will enhance their independence in resolving questions of socioeconomic development in the regions.

In order to improve the effectiveness of republic cost accounting we must insure full economic independence for all labor collectives. For this it is essential that all elements of the national economy switch to cost accounting and strictly observe the Law on the State Enterprise (or Association).

Introduction of republic cost accounting will be accompanied by the development and improvement of economic ties both with other republics and with foreign countries. The creation of joint-venture enterprises will be accelerated.

The Riga party gorkom and Riga gorispolkom are taking energetic steps in this direction. The central committee buro will support in every possible way their desire to generate foreign currency for the capital.

In the near future it is intended to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the activity of the foreign trade organizations in the republic, take practical steps to increase revenues in the form of foreign currency and expand the export opportunities available to enterprises, accelerate the periods for setting up joint-venture production facilities with foreign companies, develop border and offshore trade with the Scandinavian countries, and organize direct barter of goods in the markets of the socialist countries.

Communists believe that one of their most important tasks is insure the priority of agriculture, not just in words but in deeds. We cannot permit a situation in which a good initiative is slowed down by bureaucratic pettifogging, departmental barriers and indecisiveness on the part of economic, soviet and party organs.

Strengthening of the priorities must be done primarily through accelerated development in the social sphere in the countryside, the processing enterprises and the warehouses handling agricultural produce.

The task today is to insure in the countryside conditions approximately equal with city dwellers in terms of working and everyday conditions, while preserving the specific nature of the Latvian way of life in the countryside. Before the end of this five-year plan more than 11,000 apartments and almost 3,000 individual homes must be built in the rural rayons of the republic, along with preschool premises with 14,000 places, schools with places for 16,000 students, and 8 outpatient clinics.

Radical and urgent steps will be taken to make more efficient use of the powerful potential of agricultural production and eliminate the shortages of foodstuffs. The republic State Agro-Industrial Committee has been assigned the task this year of increasing meat production by a minimum of 20,000 tons.

For this it is necessary to effect a decisive renewal in production relations in the countryside and introduce more quickly the forms of labor organization that enable the peasants to feel that they are the true masters of their native land.

The party committees must encourage in every possible way the leaseholders establishing farmsteads and creating farms, and also people who are developing private subsidiary plots.

The relations between industry and agriculture must be set at a new, higher level. They must become advantageous for both sides. It is necessary to think about the creation of conditions and privileges that would provide incentive for the urban population, first and foremost from Riga, to move into the countryside.

This year already it is essential to start up at enterprises in the republic the production of agricultural machinery designed for regional use.

After 2 years people are asking us how things are going with the "Zhilishche-90" program. And we must justify their hopes. And for this it is necessary to complain less about the difficulties and show more initiative and seek out non-standard solutions.

The party committees will be more active in supporting the economic method in building houses and in individual and collective construction.



The republic's involvement in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake in Armenia, where we are to carry out a considerable amount of construction work, should not affect the solution to the housing problem.

It is quite possible that it will be necessary to establish a later date for the commissioning of other projects in the republic. But we are sure that the republic's workers will accept this with understanding.

The party organs have set the republic Council of Ministers and enterprise leaders the task of insuring that the five-year plan targets for the production of consumer goods are exceeded, and of reducing to a minimum the gap between the availability of money among the population and the amount of goods available.

Here use will be made of all reserves, including at enterprises of all-union subordination. Here we envisage switching a number of shops to the production of consumer goods.

Recognizing the justified concern of the population with the rates of migration, the party organs will take the steps necessary to reduce it sharply. The Council of Ministers and the Latvian trade union council have discussed a resolution in which economic, administrative-legal and organizational measures are planned that should substantially influence mechanical population growth. After appropriate work it will be adopted for implementation and underpinned by specific actions. The emphasis should be on economic methods. Broader consideration will also be given to the opinion of the labor collectives.

The time has come not only to raise ecological problems but also take fundamental steps to resolve them: halt the pollution of bodies of water, forests and the atmosphere and bar the road against exhaustion of the soil. All of this will require colossal funding. It must be sought by making more extensive use of our reserves and the possibilities of the all-union ministries.

It is essential to achieve unconditional compliance with all measures to improve the ecological situation in the republic. This applies in particular to Riga, Ventspils, Yurmala and Olayne and the condition of the Gulf of Riga and the rivers draining into the Baltic Sea.

Scientists have in the main already drawn up recommendations on these questions. Now the republic Council of Ministers is obliged to insure that they are realized in practice.

The completion in 1990 of construction of the first series of purification plants in Riga should serve well in making improvements in environmental protection. In all, during the 12th Five-Year Plan purification plants are to be built in 20 cities throughout the republic.

And we must arrange things so that henceforth, purification plants and other nature conservancy projects become very important construction sites in the republic.

I think that you will agree that today the priority task for the republic party organization is harmonization of interethnic relations and practical asseveration of the new concept in their development. The bases of this concept were approved at the Forum of the Peoples of Latvia, which was an important step in consolidating and uniting people of different nationalities.

What is basically new here? For the first time it has been clearly formulated that Latvia is the homeland of the Latvian people, the only place where they can truly develop their own language and culture in a full-blooded way. Promoting that development is the affair not only of every Latvian but also the international duty of all inhabitants of the republic.

At the same time the state organs of the Latvian SSR are responsible for creating favorable conditions for development of the languages and cultures of all nationalities and ethnic groups living in the republic, while the Latvian people are morally responsible for their all-around development.

Further development of the original culture of the Livs and Latgals should be surrounded with special concern in the republic.

The central committee and republic government will take the steps necessary to create a national cultural center in Moscow and to expand republic representation in the countries of the Baltic region.

We shall support constructive dialogue by our public organizations with all progressive Latvians living in other countries who sincerely wish for the good of Soviet Latvia and perestroika.

The central committee buro will do everything possible to implement other constructive proposals from the members of the Forum of Peoples.

We must complete work on the law on the official language and concretize a procedure for use of the Latvian, Russian and other languages. This is a crucial task and in its resolution it is essential to give due consideration to all the diversity of opinion on these issues. The law has not yet entered into force and it would be improper for each organization to interpret it in its own way and to force through the adoption of some particular instructions and orders. Such haste can only harm things.

The soviet organs must decisively cut short any attempts at arbitrary decisionmaking in this sphere.

Due consideration must be given to the fact that realization of a number of measures designed to serve realization of the status of the official language will require substantial funding.

This must be found. And this is no simple matter because it is also needed for the quickest possible upsurge in the level of national education, public health, culture and everyday services.

Communists in the republic are actively involved preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic questions.

These, of course, are only some of the directions in our work which, in the opinion of the central committee buro, should have a place on the election platform of communists. We are sure that you can add others to them and clarify them in your statements. During the course of the election campaign the candidates for the posts of USSR peoples deputies and those who elect them will themselves enrich our platform.

I would like once again to emphasize that this time the elections will not be a simple matter, and this is not only because they will be conducted on the new principles. The situation has changed, people have changed, and we ourselves have changed. The party conferences have clearly shown this.

Success in the election campaign depends largely on our activeness and our creative approach to it.

Today what is required is not simply an explanation of certain slogans and tasks and appeals, and the popularization of particular candidates, but a true struggle for the minds and sentiments of the people.

The preparations for the elections are a strict examination and only we ourselves can decide how we shall pass it.

Comrades, no matter what we may have done today, no matter what problems we may have solved, we must first and foremost think about normalizing the situation in the republic and reducing the tension in interethnic relations. Today, this is the most important issue. The party and soviet organs and the other public organizations, and also the People's Front and Interfront, must unite their efforts here and create opportunities for people to live normally and work normally, not fearing for the future of their children or being alarmed about the morrow.

The central committee buro deems it essential to assign the party gorkoms and raykoms, the primary party organizations and all communists the task of carefully studying the political situation at the local level and explaining to people the position of the Latvian CP

Central Committee on urgent issues and the solutions that will adopted today, and to intensify their work to consolidate all healthy forces.

The Latvian CP Central Committee appeals to all inhabitants of the republic—workers and peasants, the intelligentsia and students, veterans and young people, atheists and believers—to rally around for labor for the well-being of our motherland and the tranquillity of each family.

We have just one one common home—Soviet Latvia—and a common destiny. We have but one goal—renewal of our society on the Leninist principles of socialism and improving our lives. And to this end we must elevate ourselves above personal resentment and ambition.

We do have many misfortunes and problems. Views differ on how to deal with them. But everyone must understand that they will not be resolved in a day, and they will not be resolved by ultimatums and power pressure. We must all unite our society, not cleave it along national and social lines.

When evaluating any particular problem or phenomenon we must constrain ourselves from extremes. Any extreme position is erroneous from a scientific standpoint and irresponsible from the political viewpoint.

We must all find the solutions that are useful to all society.

Here, it is apropos to recall the words of comrade V.A. Medvedev, words that have been used many times at meetings with the workers of the republic: "Consolidation of the forces in society," he said, "is not a concession in someone's favor. It is necessary for all who yearn in their souls for perestroika, who do not indulge in cunning while they praise it."

So, what, you ask, to do with those who are unwilling to listen to the voice of reason and who heat up the situation through their intolerance and extremism?

In this matter we must all deliver a friendly rebuff. We must make use of public opinion and the force of the law. And we expect from the jurists a more principled position in these matters.

Democracy is inconceivable without observance of legality. This is an axiom that requires no special proof. Our law enforcement organs are still only beginning to learn how to work under the conditions of democracy and they often lose their way in this unusual situation.

I think that each of us can muster enough examples to draw at least two unambiguous conclusions.

First, if passions burst beyond the confines of what is permissible they must be contained with all the means at our disposal, including, of course, administrative methods. And no one has abolished criminal responsibility for propaganda of national enmity.

Second, it is quite clear that in all perestroika processes, no matter what they may affect, it is reason and legality and democracy and order that must reign supreme.

We must constantly remember this.

We value highly the involvement of the creative intelligentsia in finding the solutions to many painful problems, and its desire to be in the leading ranks of those participating in perestroika. It has done much to increase national self-awareness and raise the political and social activeness of the people.

Workers in the republic hope that our intelligentsia will increase its contribution also in consolidating the healthy forces in society. Today it is very important that writers and artists and producers and artistes, to whose opinion people listen, raise their voices in support of prudence and fairness, friendship and conscientious labor. We cannot allow the hotheads to cast a shadow over the good name of the Latvian people.

Today, the central committee bureau deems it essential to appeal once again to the People's Front of Latvia and the International Front of Workers to move more rapidly away from opposition to joint action to accelerate perestroika.

We must not dissipate people's awakened energy to no purpose on useless clarifications of attitudes toward the fronts, and on which front is better. The more so since the people have already answered this.

They believe that today the labor front is the most important front. The working class and the peasantry, the creators of the material foundation for all our transformations, are convinced that only specific deeds can today advance perestroika.

They are rightly concerned that last year less grain was harvested than in the previous year, less milk was produced, housing construction rates were lower, and there was more absenteeism and loss of work time. They rightly believe that all of us, each at his work place, must do more work. We have more or less learned to talk in the new way; now we must learn to work in the new way.

Not to chatter, not to drown perestroika in a sea of beautiful phrases and loud slogans—this is the main thing today.

Perestroika gives no one a privileged position or a carefree life. But there is no alternative.

There is only one path—to unite efforts and accelerate perestroika. And we shall not turn aside from this.

### Monetary Cost of Elections for USSR People's Deputies in Latvia Estimated

18000459 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
10 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by V. Smetannikov: The Financial Side of the Mandate"]

[Text] Everything must be paid for... Even a couple of years ago in this phrase, which reflects the real state of affairs, we saw something if not always negative, at least somewhat ironic. But now that khozraschet is being established, when economic levers, and not the connecting rods of the administrative-command system, are considered to be the most effective, the ruble is again acquiring value and power. State authority in all of its areas—both large and small—also rests on a financial base. Incidentally, it would seem to be a simple measure—the renaming of one small street. But it involves extremely large expenditures. Of course the price of several dozen little plates with house numbers is a matter of kopecks on the scale of a large city. But how many new official forms will have to be printed? How many reference guides will have to be republished? Guidebooks? Finally, how much will it cost to redo the plan of the population point for those same tourists?

So how much will the elections of USSR people's deputies cost in monetary terms?

In past years expenditures on elections have been born by the enterprises, organizations, and party agencies. Moreover, previously there were many fewer candidates to the USSR Supreme Soviet than there are now. Compare just the number of deputies: in the current highest state agency there are 1,500 people, but on 26 March it will be necessary to elect 2,250 deputies:

I shall give the complete text of Article 12 of the new Law on Elections:

"Expenditures related to preparing for and conducting elections of USSR people's deputies are born by the state.

"Enterprises, institutions, organizations, and state and social agencies are to place at the disposal of the election commissions the premises and equipment necessary for preparing for and conducting the elections.

"Candidates for USSR peoples deputies and electors do not bear expenditures associated with preparing for and conducting the elections."

If one again makes a comparison with past years, we were not let in on the financial details of the pre-election campaign. Now we know that, for example, the Central Electoral Commission in Moscow, for the rent on the House of Unions where it meets pays the "owner"—the AUCCTU—206,000 rubles.

In the country as a whole 156.47 million rubles were released from the state budget for preparation for the elections of USSR people's deputies.

When establishing the all-union estimate of expenditures, the Central Election Commission distributed funds among all the republics. Of course the amounts were not all the same: they took into account the size of the territory, the number of population, and other factors. The presidiums of the republic supreme soviets, in turn, had to distribute the allotted money among the district commissions. Local financial agencies, acting in the role of creditors, were instructed to check carefully on the utilization of the estimated cost schedules.

In the Latvian SSR 1.672 million rubles were allotted for expenditures on conducting the elections.

How is it planned to dispose of these sums?

In the Presidium of the republic Supreme Soviet we were told that the overall sum of expenditures for the eight district electoral commissions for the eight territorial districts would be 56,000 rubles, and for the 32 district electoral commissions for the national-territorial districts—192,000 rubles. One commission was allotted an average of 6,200-7,800 and 5,700-6,400 rubles, respectively. As you can see, there was to be a "spread." It was dictated by the working conditions, which depend on the specific features and the area of one district or another. For example, in the cities there will be practically no travel expenses. But in rural areas it is practically impossible to get by without frequent trips. Postal, telegraph, and telephone expenses also differ significantly under various conditions.

Here are a couple more figures.

The overall sum of money allotted to the section electoral commissions for their normal activity was 960,250 rubles (an average of 575 rubles each).

Expenditures on the manufacture of voting booths and boxes were included in an individual item of the estimate—an average of 160,000 rubles per electoral section, which amounts to a total of 267,200 rubles. After all, not much is said about the mystery of voting and the careful procedure for it.

As distinct from previous pre-election campaigns, new expenditures have arisen. For example, for wages. Now it is envisioned that one of the members of the section electoral commission is released from his regular job for a month, and in the district commission—for 3 months. These people must continue to receive their wages.

Judging from the "apportionment" of district commissions, the largest share of expenditures will go for all kinds of typographical products. For it will be necessary

to print millions of election bulletins and a multitude of posters, for instance concerning meetings where the electors discuss the qualities, merits, and, quite probably, the shortcomings of the candidates that have been nominated. It will be necessary to publish the candidates' biographies in large volumes. Moreover, as the newspaper PRAVDA announced, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet again last summer footed the bill for providing paper.

No, campaigning for one candidate or another is not cheap. In the first place he must—not only with the help of the newspapers, television, and radio, but also by himself in meetings with the population—defend his pre-election platform and delve into the needs and demands of the people in the local areas. And while in the city it is sufficient to get on a trolley to do this, in the outer regions it is necessary to travel a fairly long distance—sometimes by bus, sometimes by train. I remind you that the state is responsible for these expenditures. Just as it is for the rental of premises for meetings.

In the second place, candidate deputies are released from their main job for a month after registration. And they are compensated for their average earnings. Under current conditions the pre-election campaign creates for the candidates all the necessary conditions for fruitful activity and a real battle for the electors' votes.

In addition to trusted individuals, many activists can also enter this battle—supporters of one person or another whom they consider to be worthy of general confidence. It is possible to use the most diverse legal forms in campaigning for him. Herein lies another of the manifestations of the competition of candidates. Is campaigning always conducted out of pure enthusiasm? One would think not.

Immense amounts of money are allotted from the state coffers for pre-election campaigning. According to the approved estimate, there is even to be a reserve for unforeseen expenses. But the "purse" of the budget, you will agree, is not made of rubber. Honor and glory to the district section commission which can not only keep within the amount allotted to it for printing lists of voters, posters for distribution within the sections, and for office, transportation, and other expenses, but can also find a way of saving money—of course, without detriment to the overall cause.

The opinion of the chairman of one of the district commissions seems reasonable to me: although the state fully subsidizes the elections, under the conditions of *khozraschet* one labor collective or another could allot a certain sum from the enterprise fund for trips for the candidate they nominate.

It would seem that moderation must be observed in everything. In certain places in the republic they are suggesting printing election posters in support of their candidate that are very attractive, with gold leaf. So, under the conditions of today's campaign it is permitted to use gold leaf. As they have said since olden times, people will take what they can get. But such "architectural excesses" will probably not add the desired weight to the candidates authority. The outcome of the voting will be determined by the individual business qualities and purely human qualities of the individual and the feasibility of his program.

The true force of the deputy mandate of any elected official will ultimately be determined not by the sum of money spent during the pre-election campaign, but by his public spirited approach to matters of restructuring.

**Tajik CP CC Buro on Historians' Deficiencies in 'New Thinking'**

18300282 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA  
in Russian 30 Dec 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Tajik CP Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] At a regular meeting that took place on 28 December the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee Buro considered the question of the work of the republic party central committee Institute of Party History in raising the level of scientific research and strengthening its links with practical work. A resolution was adopted on the subject. The activity of the institute in implementing the tasks set for the science of party history by the 27th Party Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and by the 20th Tajik Communist Party Congress was deemed unsatisfactory.

Many of the works of this institute are superficial and are not distinguished by any in-depth analysis or topicality of subject matter, particularly in questions concerning problems of party leadership in the economy and the ideological work of the republic party organization. In publications on this range of subjects little consideration is being given to the tasks of counterpropaganda, which is designed to oppose bourgeois falsifications of the history and policy of the CPSU. Serious miscalculations are being allowed in the planning and organization of scientific research work. Subjects are often approved without any consideration of the requirements of the party organizations, and the fulfillment of planned research is being systematically frustrated. The republic's coordinating council for CPSU history and party building is doing poor work in matters concerned with uniting scientific effort. The institute's primary party organization is standing aside from the work of the scientific collective.

The central committee buro has made it incumbent upon the leadership (Sh.M. Sultanov and I.K. Kalandarov) and the party buro at the institute to restructure their work, take concrete steps to raise the level of party history studies, and strengthen links with practical party work. It is essential to focus attention mainly on comprehensive work on the history of the Tajik Communist Party and the problems of party building, and national relations, from the standpoint of the new thinking and on the basis of the comprehensive scientific approach. It was recommended that with the agreement of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, work be completed on a long-term plan for priority directions in scientific research during the period through the year 2000, and that appropriate changes be made in the plans for 1989-1990.

The buro discussed the question of serious shortcomings in the work of the Leninabad Obkom and the Tursunzadevskiy party gorkom in complying with the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee resolution on preventing and forestalling suicides. It was noted that these party committees are conducting preventive work unsystematically, divorced from indoctrination and sociocultural tasks. The communists of the local soviets, law enforcement and economic agencies, ideological institutions and the trade unions, Komsomol and other public organizations are only poorly involved in this. The buro issued strict instructions for the first secretary of the Leninabad party obkom T.M. Mirkhalikov and the first secretary of the Tursunzadevskiy party gorkom O.T. Khasanov, and also the secretaries in those party committees, B.F. Rakhimova and M.F. Rakhimova, regarding their unsatisfactory organization in fulfilling the measures outlined.

It was recommended that the party organizations and all leading cadres and communists at the local level enhance their responsibility for the status of work to prevent suicides and attempted suicides.

The Leninabad obkom, the Tursunzadevskiy party gorkom and the primary party organizations must engage more meaningfully in questions concerning improvements in people's working and everyday conditions, the organization of family indoctrination, and shaping a high level of culture and interpersonal relations. They must help in setting up social psychology consulting facilities at treatment centers, and emergency "hotlines," and are called upon to help people resolve conflict situations and provide the necessary counseling promptly. It is recommended that the Tajik SSR Procuracy raise responsibility among its subordinate services for the careful and objective investigation of each case of suicide, and establish responsibility for it and hold responsible people party to it; and that it reach a decision on setting up a scientific subdivision to study the entire complex of causes leading to these negative phenomena.

The Tajik Communist Party Central Committee and the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium have adopted a joint resolution "On Drafts of the Law of the Tajik SSR

on Changes and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Tajik SSR and Laws on the Election of People's Deputies of the Tajik SSR and the Republic Local Soviets." A commission to work on these documents has been confirmed.

The buro has approved measures to implement the proposals and comments expressed during the course of oblast, city and rayon accountability-and-election party conferences and meetings.

The buro examined the course of fulfillment of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee resolution of 18 May 1988 "On Complaints from Junior Specialists Against Violations of the Law in Finding Solutions to Their Housing Problems." A corresponding decision was adopted on this question.

A decision was reached to conduct a seminar-conference 10 through 13 January next year in Dushanbe with the first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms and representatives of the oblast, city and rayon ispolkoms of the soviets of people's deputies and the agro-industrial committees and associations on the question of "Radical Economic Reform in the Agro-industrial Complex: the Basis for Resolving the Food Program."

A resolution was adopted on additional measures to comply with the decisions of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee and Tajik SSR Council of Ministers to further develop cinematography in the republic.

The buro approved a proposal from the Khatlonskiy party obkom to publish one column of the newspaper PAKHTAKOR—the organ of the Kumsangirskiy party raykom and rayon soviet of people's deputies—regularly in the Uzbek language.

A resolution was adopted to change the name of the republic newspaper from KOMSOMOLI TODZHIKISTON to DZHAVONONI TODZHIKISTON with effect from 1 January 1989.

Proposals were supported to create in Dushanbe a museum of the musical arts in the house where the composer Z. Shakhidi lived, and to open in Pendzhikent a museum of the history of religion and atheism.

Other matters of party life and the social and economic development of the republic were reviewed at the meeting of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee Buro.

**Background Data on 3 ESSR CC Members  
Executed in 1930's**

*18300224 Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian  
11 Nov 88 p 3*

[Article by D. Rudnev, Honored Estonian SSR Journalist, under the rubric "Memory and Duty": "Central Committee on the Executioner's Block"]

[Text] In my youth I saw, listened to and even spoke with many people who were cut down during the raging of the Stalinist terror. Marshal Tukhachevsky and Rykov, who replaced Lenin in the office of chairman of the Council of People's Commissars; People's Commissar Bubnov; Kosior and Chuban, leaders of the Soviet Ukraine; Kubyak, secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks); and Kirov's close colleagues Ugarov, Chudov, Kodatskiy and Pozern.

And even Sergey Mironovich himself, whose death Stalin used as a pretext for organizing mass repressions; and Ordzhonikidze, whose shooting of himself was his answer to the perversion of Leninism and the slaughter of the best party members; and the extremely talented journalist Koltsov, whom Stalin disposed of without unnecessary publicity—I see them all before my eyes, cheerful, active, not knowing what awaits them.

I shall tell only about three of them.

Andrey Sergeyevich Bubnov was born in 1884, joined the party in 1903, was a member of the Central Committee Politburo and a member of the Petrograd Revolutionary Military Committee during the October Revolution, and served in major posts in the Red Army during the Civil War. Appointed RSFSR people's commissar for enlightenment in 1929. Chosen a number of times as a member of the party Central Committee.

A meeting between A. S. Bubnov and Leningrad's teachers was scheduled in the former palace of Prince Yusupov. The editors assigned me to report on it for the newspaper.

I waited the arrival of the people's commissar outside, near the main entrance. A large black car drove up. Bubnov emerged from it in the company of an aide. He was wearing a round fur hat and a heel-length greatcoat. I witnessed a brief conversation that revealed Andrey Sergeyevich's character to me. The aide wanted the car to wait for them there. Assuming that the conversation with the teachers would drag out, Bubnov ordered the driver to return to the garage: "There's no reason for him to languish here; we'll call him when he's needed!"

The hall was already full. Bubnov rose to the dais along with the chief of the oblast department of public education and sat down at the table. The chief of the oblast department was getting ready to conduct the meeting according to the standard pattern, starting it with a

"directive speech" by the people's commissar. But the people's commissar immediately broke up the customary ritual, proposing that the teachers first share their concerns and candidly tell what was hampering their work.

The teachers, encouraged by the attention of the people's commissar, grew bold and went on the attack against the oblast public education department. The department chief started to give angry rejoinders, clearly desiring to prevent the criticism. Bubnov sharply called him to order: let the educators speak without hindrance, freely and openly.

"It isn't every day," he added, "that a teacher has the opportunity to criticize his bosses in front of the people's commissar!"

The hall stirred approvingly. Bubnov spoke at the end of the meeting, firmly supporting the criticism aimed at the oblast public education department.

About two years later, in July 1934, a large outing for children had been arranged on Yelagin Island. Sergey Mironovich Kirov came, and he was immediately surrounded. With great difficulty I managed to push my way through to him in order to get an interview. I see Kirov's face with its broad, white-toothed smile right up close. He is already buttoning up his raincoat, clearly getting ready to leave. I ask Sergey Mironovich to answer two or three questions. "I can't, I'm in a hurry," Kirov explains and, wanting to soften his refusal, adds, nodding toward his young associate Ugarov: "Ask him." I turn toward Ugarov, but he is already hurrying after Kirov, nodding to me, "Ask Kodatskiy!" But even the chairman of the gorspolkom was in a hurry: "I can't, friend. Talk to Pozern!" I looked around, trying to find Boris Pavlovich, but he was already getting into Kirov's car.

Discouraged by my failure, I set off walking through the park, which was filled with merriment. I caught sight of Bubnov. It turned out that he was in Leningrad and had come to the children's festival. Should I approach him in the hopes that he wouldn't refuse a young journalist an interview? But I was restrained by the stern look of the people's commissar; after all, I recalled how harshly he had dressed down the chief of the oblast public education department. Yet the editors were expecting an article from me, and I was already late as it was. I could not retreat. Running up to Bubnov with my notebook open, I asked him to share his impressions of the outing.

"Gladly," the people's commissar immediately agreed. "It's nice to see the cheerful atmosphere that reigns at the festival."

Screwing up my courage, I held out my notebook to Andrey Sergeyevich in hopes of getting a written comment on the children's festival from him. The people's commissar sat down on a stump, put the notebook on his

knee, and thought for a few minutes before writing the first few lines. A facsimile of the comment by the people's commissar adorned the front page of the newspaper.

The year 1937 began. One after another political figures who had served the party's cause with dedication all their lives were declared to be enemies of the people. Bubnov's turn came, too. One autumn evening I heard a radio report that he had been dismissed from his position for incompetence. Tyurkin, a little-known man who was a minion of Zhdanov's and, what's more, his countryman—both were from Gorkiy—was named the new people's commissar. Several days later Bubnov was arrested. His name disappeared from the newspapers. Only much later did it become known that, after two years of torment in Yezhov's and Beria's torture chambers, A. S. Bubnov was executed by firing squad on 12 January 1940. Leningrad University, which previously bore his name, became the University imini A. Zhdanov.

**Aleksandr Vasilyevich Kosarev was born in 1903, joined the Komsomol in 1918 and the party in 1919. A volunteer in the Red Army, he participated in the Civil War. He headed a number of guberniya and rayon Komsomol committees. In 1929 he became general secretary of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League and member of the party Central Committee.**

In August 1937 we were shocked by the PRAVDA report: "Arrant enemies of the people Saltanov, Lyukyanov, Faynberg, Bubekin, Andreyev and others, taking advantage of the idiotic disease of political blindness of a number of executive personnel of the Komsomol Central Committee Buro and, above all, Comrade Kosarev, have done their dirty and base deed...."

No one would dare openly doubt their guilt, but secretly we asked the question: how could it happen that secretaries of the All-Union Komsomol and the editor in chief of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA turned out to be enemies of the people? Not long before the "denunciation," Zhenya Faynberg, secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, had come to Leningrad. He had stopped by to see us at the editorial offices of the Pioneers newspaper LENINSKIYE ISKRY. A modest, even bashful man with kind and intelligent eyes, he showed a comradely openness. And suddenly—an "enemy," and an "arrant" one at that.

At first the trouble bypassed Kosarev, who survived and even remained in his position as general secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee. Would it be for long?

In the summer of 1938 Kosarev came to Leningrad. For many months the city Komsomol organization had already been in a fever. Three secretaries of the Komsomol obkom, having replaced one another, had been arrested, and Komsomol meetings had turned into kangaroo courts, cruelly calling people to account for

"political carelessness" and for "ties with enemies of the people." The lives of young men and women were being ruined. The unfortunate youngsters were being forced to repent, renounce their parents and friends, etc.

In that atmosphere, a plenum of the Komsomol gorkom and obkom was held. Kosarev's speech was awaited with keen impatience. Some of us hoped that he would straighten out the zealous denouncers and stop the massacre of totally innocent people. Others (unfortunately, there were a good many such people) were waiting for Kosarev to give a new signal to "extirpate the enemies."

It was the first time I had seen Kosarev. Of average height, stout, round-faced, with short hair. Dressed in a blue suit, with a matching wide tie (that appeared as a sign of independence; after all, executive personnel of all ranks, imitating Stalin, preferred military-style suits). Kosarev walked up to the podium with a firm and decisive step, as though demonstrating his readiness for an exacting discussion- explanation.

I now understand what nervous tension every public appearance cost him at that time. After all, he knew that Stalin was displeased with him and irritated over his stubbornness in defending Komsomol members against slander and reprisals.<sup>1</sup> But at the time we naively supposed that Stalin loved Kosarev and would therefore stick up for him. I still remember a huge photograph on the front page of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: Stalin sitting at a table and Kosarev bowed in a filial pose; both are smiling. We still believed that the "great leader and teacher" was still open to such human feelings as attachment, friendliness and personal warmth.

But all the same, some of us guessed his difficult situation, and many of Aleksandr Vasilyevich's comrades and Komsomol workers were already behind bars; therefore, he should have been especially circumspect and weighed every word. However, Kosarev started talking not about enemies in the Komsomol but about the coming 20th anniversary of the Komsomol's founding. He ardently and persuasively stressed that in the course of these decades the Komsomol had been a true helper of the party and that it would continue to not deviate a single step from the party line. This came across as an oath. We perceived his words as an answer to those who were whipping up suspiciousness in the Komsomol and zealously slandering people who were honest and devoted to the party and the Soviet homeland.

A half-century later, I cannot reconstruct Kosarev's entire speech in my memory. But the impression remains that it did not contain the clamorous imprecations, customary for that time, directed against "enemies," and that it was calm and businesslike in nature and aimed at creative labor and the strengthening of the country's defense. I recall one moment especially distinctly. Kosarev was apparently vexed by the idea that the arrest of Saltanov and other Komsomol executives had affected



his personal prestige and shaken his status as the leader of the All-Union Komsomol. He even declared with a kind of challenge: "I can assure you that All-Union Komsomol Central Committee Secretary Kosarev stands more firmly on his feet today than ever." I seemed that it was not so much us as himself that he wanted to persuade of that.

The Komsomol's 20th anniversary was celebrated widely and festively in the country. Nonetheless, Stalin's displeasure with Kosarev and the other Komsomol leaders let itself be known. On 29 October 1938 a PRAVDA editorial devoted to the anniversary introduced what was by no means an anniversary note into the holiday: "The whole people rejoices in the Komsomol's successes. However, these successes would be more significant and comprehensive if the Komsomol Central Committee had not committed a number of serious mistakes lately in the matter...of purging the Komsomol of hostile elements." This was a blow against Kosarev, above all. Nonetheless, it was he who gave the report at the ceremonial meeting in the Bolshoy Theater devoted to the Leninist Komsomol's 20th anniversary, and the next day PRAVDA carried Kosarev's portrait along with the text of the report. Fears for him were replaced by the hope that the cloud has passed him by. We did not yet know Stalin's propensity to toy sadistically with a person's fate.

A month had not passed when Kosarev was removed from his office and arrested. On 23 February 1939 a shot in the back of the neck cut short his life. The general secretary's tragic fate was shared by almost the entire membership of the Komsomol Central Committee that had been elected at the 10th congress: of 93 members of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, 80 were repressed.

**Aleksey Aleskandrovich Kuznetsov, born in 1905. Joined the party in 1925. Appointed second secretary of the Leningrad obkom and gorkom in 1938 and first secretary in 1945. A lieutenant general. An organizer of the defense of Leningrad. Appointed a secretary of the party Central Committee in 1946.**

Zhdanov gradually removed everyone who had worked in the Leningrad obkom and gorkom under Kirov, and new people came to the Smolnyy, among whom the talented Kuznetsov, who had been a Komsomol worker in the recent past, stood out. At the 18th Party Congress he had been elected to the Central Committee at the age of 34.

PRAVDA's Leningrad correspondent's station, to which I transferred from the Pioneer newspaper LENINSKIYE ISKRY, maintained communications with the party obkom and gorkom principally through Kuznetsov. And not just because Zhdanov had in effect entrusted him with all the day-to-day work. It was easy to deal with Kuznetsov; he wasn't afraid to take on the resolution of issues, and in critical moments one could count on him; he would not go back on his statements.

In the summer of 1939 the PRAVDA editors contracted with A. A. Kuznetsov for an article on the topic of what was new in the work of the Leningrad party organization since the 18th congress. Vladimir Borisovich Solovyev, the head of the correspondents' station, and I were supposed to talk over the plan for the article with him. Whereas Zhdanov was totally inaccessible to journalists, Kuznetsov willingly met with us and was, in general, an open and sociable person. He had none of the haughtiness or self-importance that were typical at the time (and often even later) of many executives.

Even before that meeting I had seen Kuznetsov many times and heard him at meetings of the party aktiv. Now there was to be a discussion in his office on the third floor of the Smolnyy.

Aleksey Aleksandrovich quickly sketched out a plan for the future article on a notebook page. Then he started enthusiastically developing the ideas he intended to include in it, supporting them with facts from the life of the city's party organizations. One sensed that he was broadly informed and had close ties with the enterprises and people.

High-ranking executives gladly used the services of newspapermen, and we tactfully inquired as to whether Kuznetsov didn't need our help, having in mind the drafting of a "fish," i.e., the first draft of an article, to which the author would subsequently add his own work. Kuznetsov declined the "fish": "I'll write the article myself, and then you 'polish it up,' if it's necessary." There wasn't any need for polishing; the article was "up to par."

Kuznetsov was under Zhdanov, but he did not glorify him as the other secretaries of the obkom and gorkom did—here, too, he maintained his dignity. His PRAVDA article did not contain the customary "under the leadership of Stalin's comrade-in-arms, Comrade Zhdanov, Leningrad's Communists...." In this connection I recall the following episode from the period of the siege. Ya. Kapustin, a gorkom secretary, had prepared an article for PRAVDA on party guidance of the economy under war conditions and, to be on the safe side, had given it to Zhdanov to look over. Kapustin gave me the article with Zhdanov's corrections and requested that I dictate it to a typist, taking those corrections into account. I noted that Zhdanov had crossed out the praise of himself. Kapustin explained the "rules of the game" to me: Zhdanov would cross them out, and the author would restore them. "And how does Andrey Aleksandrovich react to that?" I wondered. "Not at all!" Kapustin assured me. Kuznetsov did not lower himself to such a "game"; it went against his nature. But Zhdanov was an irrefutable authority for him. Let me note here that Kuznetsov had nothing to do with Zhdanov's acts against the intelligentsia.

Kuznetsov had developed as a party official in that difficult time in which arbitrary, command methods of leadership that went against Leninist norms of party life

were being propagated. These methods also manifested themselves in Kuznetsov's style of work. I heard him several times in the auditorium at the Smolnyy and at the Tavricheskiy Palace. In criticizing the "rayonshchiki" from the podium, he was excessively harsh and even coarse, unselective in his choice of expressions, and unsparing of people's pride.

This coexisted in him with a democratic attitude. In the harsh days of the siege of Leningrad, as a member of the front's War Council, he visited the units almost daily and would show up in the soldiers' trenches in immediate proximity to the front line and in the artillery troops' emplacements. We war correspondents would see him at the hottest spots. He had no shortage of bravery. As for Zhdanov, he never visited the combat regiments and had no urge to be with the soldiers. He preferred to meet with snipers at the Smolnyy and make speeches at the airport, awarding decorations and orders to the pilots. He spent a lot of time at home at his dacha, outside the fire zone.

After the siege was broken, trains started running along the southern shore of Lake Ladoga in sight of the enemy. Artillery regiments reliably covered them with a fire shield. Early in the fall of 1943 Kuznetsov awarded the artillery troops Guards' Banners. (I still have a clipping—a note about that that I transmitted to PRAVDA.)

**"Combat Army, 5 September (PRAVDA war correspondent) ... Yesterday Lt Gen Kuznetsov, member of the front War Council, awarded the Guards' Banner to the glorious regiment (Col Lobanov). The entire ceremony of awarding the Guards' Banner took place with great elan, leaving a tremendous impression on all participants. Comrade Kuznetsov warmly congratulated the artillery guards and called on them to prepare for decisive battles against the hated enemy:**

**"The hour has come to drive the German invaders out of our native Rus. The homeland blesses you for new military exploits!"**

**"The regimental commander, kneeling before the Guards' Banner, swore a ceremonial oath. . . and the entire regiment repeated after him:**

**"In faith and truth, to bravely and selflessly serve the Homeland."**

**"Two hours later on those same grounds Kuznetsov awarded the Guards' Banner to an artillery unit commanded by Guards' Col Shteyn."**

Five years had not passed following the war when Malenkov and Beria, with Stalin's blessing, fabricated the so-called "Leningrad case," which cost Kuznetsov his life: he was executed by firing squad in 1950. As has now been established, all the charges against him were false.

Let that sort of thing never be repeated!

#### Footnotes

1. Citing the words of V. F. Pikina, A. V. Kosarev's wife and former secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, Anatoliy Gokikov writes in OGONEK (No 7, 1988): "In March 1937 Stalin reproached Kosarev for the fact that the Komsomol was not helping NKVD agencies expose enemies, to which the latter replied that the Komsomol Central Committee had no compromising materials on Komsomol personnel. Stalin drew the ominous conclusion: 'You do not want to direct this work.' And exactly a year later, in March 1938, at a ceremonial reception in the Kremlin, following a toast by Molotov in Kosarev's honor, Stalin, while embracing and kissing him, whispered the threat to him: 'If you betray me, I'll kill you!'"

**Mikhailov Rebuts Criticisms of Writers' Union**  
18000333 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by Al. Mikhailov, first secretary of the governing board of the Moscow writers' organization: "The Goal Is Creativity: On Comrades in Literature, the Writers' Union, and How To Go On Living"]

[Text] **Invitation to Reflection.** The writer's prestige and the prestige of the writers' union have fallen in our society. It has become almost the fashion in the periodical press to fling arrows of irony at the Writers' Union and to portray writers themselves, individually and together, in the role of money-grubbers and mercenaries who are well-fed and comfortable but still try to grab things from the state. Given the food, housing, and consumer goods shortages, their "sublime" living has become an object of gossip on various levels from Central Television, newspapers, and journals to lines in stores.

In the weekly LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA recently, Nikolay Denisov from Tyumen cited several descriptions which the oblast Komsomol newspaper has bestowed upon writers. I will cite one of them: "the reptilian gentlemen writers who have lost their sense of backbone." This is not badly put. Translate this to the simpler and more concrete language of the line and you will get a colorful idea of who the writer in Russia is today.

The earnings, or rather the superearnings, concealed behind the print runs of their books that writers receive attract especially fixed attention. Numerous articles and statements cite the same names and examples, but behind them appears a certain general image of the contemporary writer which is in keeping with those characteristics which the press and the line in the store somehow unintentionally (or perhaps intentionally) give him.

Writers do a poor job of defending themselves. They cite figures on average earnings which fall short of the general ceiling for the Union. In addition, writers' earnings, including royalties, are random in nature; they are irregular and it is virtually impossible to keep track of them. Many writers are compelled to resort to regular jobs since by no means can everyone make a living by literary work. But even these truly small earnings, granted that they are the hypothetical average, are distributed very unevenly. Besides, can there be wage-leveling in writing, just like in any work? But the writers' defense is no more than the chirp of a mosquito in the chorus of critics and exposers.

**On Blessings.** The myth of the "sublime" life of laborers of the pen has also attracted the attention of the Novosti Press Agency, which prepared and distributed material for all newspapers so that no one would remain uninformed about the moral make-up of writers.

The scope of a newspaper article does not allow us to cite the lengthy reflections of G. Petrosyan, the author of this material. But here is one excerpt: "The creative unions,"

G. Petrosyan writes, "provide their members with substantial blessings. Free work trips, the opportunity to be published or have an exhibit. Living and working in houses of creativity with everything prepared at the Union's expense, and many other things, not to mention the prestige." I do not know where the APN [Novosti Press Agency] columnist got this information, but the suspicion creeps into my mind that he went no further than the line in the store.

Let us talk a little about the "blessings." Just the "free work trips." So does Comrade Petrosyan use his own money to go on work trips rather than go at the APN's expense? And people of other professions, do they then pay for tickets and the hotel out of their own purse when they are on a work trip?

About the opportunity to "be published." The Writers' Union does not give it to them. Everyone knows that all the rights to printing and publishing of a work are granted by the editorial offices of journals and publishing houses. Just as it is not the Journalists' Union which gives G. Petrosyan the right; it is the APN and other press organs.

About houses of creativity. They are run by the USSR Literary Fund rather than the Writers' Union. This organization, the USSR Literary Fund, exists and a percentage deducted from book publishing work and thus earned by the writers themselves makes up its "capital." This capital is used to build houses of creativity where writers really do "live and work with everything prepared." Just as in trade union vacation lodges and sanatoriums. Just as they receive passes for a certain period of time—free or at full or partial cost. The only difference being that, as G. Petrosyan so penetratingly noted, they go there to work. I agree that this is a "substantial blessing," but in no way does it distinguish the writer from millions of trade union members.

This leaves his "many other things." This dishonest insinuation also inflames the common man's imagination: the author of the article, he thinks, is leaving something out which is not even said in fairy tales and which it is uncomfortable to even speak of.

**About What Is Wrong.** I do not intend to speak out here in defense of those writers who have overstepped the line of modesty in terms of the number of publications; everything is not right in that, although even here one must distinguish between what deserves to be reprinted and what does not. It is wrong that many authors whose books have sometimes already been approved and are ready for publication suffer because of this and wait their turn for years. Indeed, some of the writers who are thriving nowadays have exceeded the classics in terms of the number of publications and print runs, it seems. One cannot say with certainty that they have surpassed them in talent. Most likely glasnost in this question and broad discussion will bring adjustments into publishing practice.

Poor management, on the one hand, and a thrifty hierarchical approach, on the other, have appeared in this matter: to publish what is in the public eye and what is written by "prominent people", what has been approved and what will not provoke questions "at the top", what ultimately enjoys reader demand or is disseminated in libraries in an organized manner. But more focused attention must be directed to the manuscripts which have waited past their hour and the works of beginning and young writers.

I support the viewpoint of a more reasonable and just approach—out of concern for the ideological-esthetic and content diversity of literature—in publishing policy. This especially relates to publishing books by young people which, given cost accounting and self-financing, does not promise profits. Let Pushkin and Tolstoy and in addition those among the people who are thriving nowadays who, in Tvardovskiy's words, are marked to become classics, cover this shortage. And if even 1 of the 100 first little books becomes an artifact, a museum exhibit of a prominent artist of the word, the publishing house's act will also go down in the history of literature.

One can talk even more modestly, but certainly even the readers themselves obviously understand what a difficult job this is—selecting talented people, and that risk cannot be avoided. The risk must be taken and young people must be published and the most daring of them who do not fit into customary ideas of what is first-rate must be given access to the reader. Cost-accounting may become an obstacle to talented young people, and the concern of the writers of the older generation is to do everything possible to insure that does not happen.

**Who Is the Writer in Society?** The writer in our society has very, very poor social protection. The Literary Fund shows concern for his leisure time, or rather the writer's opportunity to work quietly in the House of Creativity for a time and pays for "hospitals." But labor laws exist for every USSR citizen who works in various sectors of the economy. The interests of the working people are protected by trade unions. The writer has the right to work given him by the Constitution but he is unprotected—before the editor and before the publisher. At this point we have no law on the author's right and no law on printing. Manuscripts lie in editorial offices and publishing houses for years, sometimes after being reviewed and approved. Manuscripts which are being published are adapted to the standard size, regardless of their artistic integrity. I do not want to accuse only editors and publishers of this, the system is such that it forces even writers to resort to compromise.

The dramas of the spirit and the everyday dramas which the writer experiences are hidden from the world and from the curiosity of the Philistine, but still, who can be

blamed for his prestige having fallen in public opinion and for the malicious gossip about writers and the Writers' Union today?

The writers themselves are above all to blame for this. Their press organs have begun a "civil war" among themselves which has drawn more and more people into its orbit and the spirit of healthy criticism has yielded to blatant sensationalism. And it is not all that far from insults, hanging labels, settling scores—this public denuding. And that is all the Philistine needs; he exults: look, he says, what they are like, today's dominant influences, see how they fight like dogs among themselves for a place in the sun or a piece of the pie!

Ah, how right Viktor Astafyev is when in referring to old experience he says that "these cannibal wars did not lead to anything good. Some day we must certainly learn respect for ourselves and our work and to live without abuse." But where are writers' dignity and intelligence? For Turgenev, Tolstoy, and Chekhov were writers!

But may my comrades in literature who are carrying the burden of writing forgive me—I certainly do not want the shadow of deplorable distrust for the profession and for their high calling to fall from my article too. We are not speaking of them.

**What Should Be Done?** In the press and oral debates the question of the organizational structure of writers' work in the country is discussed. Opinions are given on reorganization and restructuring of the Writers' Union or even on its complete elimination. The proposal was made to separate critics from the creative unions and set up a certain All-Union Association of Literary-Artistic Critics and Art Critics. A. Zis and Yu. Korev wrote about that (PRAVDA, 17 August 1988). I think that there is hardly reason for the literary critics to leave the Writers' Union, the writers they read and write about, and join up with, let us say, music critics. They still have more common interests with writers.

In the article "What Should the Writers' Union Be Like?" (LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, 26 August 1988), Anatoliy Tkachenko offered his version for restructuring it in order to stop the "agonizing fights for posts and offices, for profitable editions and money prizes, and for the right to the inflated authority." I am not certain some people like to have "inflated authority" and I certainly admit that some people want to sit in an official office in a post, and many are not averse to receiving prizes, and everyone wants to be published and receive money for a publication since a literary work, like any other, is paid. Tkachenko knows how difficult it is; he himself was awarded a prize for his labor and received royalties.

But this is the recipe for restructuring in the Writers' Union which he proposes: "Work in it must be organized on social principles, that is all paid writer-functionary posts must be eliminated..." There are other supporters of this point of view. And, incidentally, such a proposal was discussed in the Moscow writers' organization—some writers consented to work on social principles in heading the organization. Then it did not get the support of the majority. Perhaps something has changed in a year.

I want to share my small experience with "sitting in an office" and thereby express my views and proposals regarding restructuring in the Union. I occupied the post of secretary of the USSR Writers' Union governing board for a year. Then, in October 1987, I was elected first secretary of the governing board of the Moscow writers' organization. My experience is truly short—2 years, but taking into account our restructuring time, it is quite instructive experience.

Like my comrades in various other secretariats, I did not and do not have free time, but I can say in all responsibility that our work time is spent inefficiently. The endless number of councils and commissions which working secretaries must for some reason be part of takes away time for meetings. In general there is a great multitude of meetings, sessions, conferences, and talks which are carried on in the union and in the departments and organizations close to it. There is office management busywork—letters, telephone calls, troubles with housing, requests, business trips, conflicts with publishing houses. What remains for creative work and for discussion of creative problems (I am no longer speaking of the need to sit at your own desk rather than at an office desk to avoid finally turning into an office chief).

And yet there is the desire to work on literary questions. In those 2 years I was witness and participant in several, in my opinion, interesting and meaningful creative undertakings. The plenums of the USSR Writers' Union governing board, councils on prose, poetry, drama, publicistics, and criticism, and the meeting of the Moscow writers "A Look at Literature" took place in penetrating and rich discussions. The Central House of Literary Figures almost shakes from discussions every day.

And still, still, still...

Being a secretary is apparat work and it cannot be avoided, no matter whether it is done for a salary or on social principles.

**Is a Writers' Union Necessary?** Those who so very persistently say that it is not necessary can be told not to burden themselves with membership in it and hand over their membership ticket. To those who are earnestly concerned with restructuring in the organization of literary work I propose some ideas for discussion.

The union should remain a professional creative association of writers and the running of all administrative-economic work (business trips, housing, pension support, finances, and the like) should be handed over to the USSR Literary Fund and its divisions in the republics. This will eliminate many worries from the apparatus of the USSR Writers' Union governing board and the republic writers' unions and will make it possible to concentrate first and foremost on creative questions. But the Literary Fund governing board, which has such broad powers, should be elected democratically at writers' congresses.

Should the present structure of the Writers' Union be preserved? I think that it needs to be restructured.

Let us open the brackets. Let us clarify for ourselves what cliquishness is and find out if there is an alternative to it. Cliquishness as we understand it today is the unprincipled struggle for the interests of some certain group of writers, a phenomenon, alas, which accompanies literature and hinders its development and awakens base passions. An open and honest association of writers who are close in creative and esthetic views in groups, studios, sections, clubs, or circles who could have their own program of activity, hold discussions, and set up evenings and performances may be an alternative to cliquishness.

Such a structure does not preclude the existence of writers outside the groups. Not everyone wants to join up with someone and in the work of writing that is completely natural. Just as not everyone wants to be part of the Writers' Union. Each to his own. Such a structure presupposes proportional representation in the union's elected organs. This, of course, has its difficulties, but it is surmountable with a reasonable approach.

Finally, and this is the most difficult thing, such a structure entails the need to create new print organs (thick and thin journals, almanacs, weeklies) around which the creative associations would and could take shape. But where would they come from given the present paper shortage and the poor printing facilities?

My proposal on this score may seem foolhardy to some people, but do not be too hasty in drawing conclusions. We have several thick and thin journals with print runs in the millions or approaching a million. Without getting into a discussion of their literary merits, let us still agree that these journals have monopolized the right of selection for publication of works from the large stream of literature. Why should they not cut their print runs by half or even two-thirds and share them with one or two journals, continue their existence on a competitive system, and provide an opportunity to change or adjust the direction of literary quests. This cannot occur purely mechanically, but even here ways of resolving problems are possible; it is not just to be feared.

MKhAT [Moscow Art Theater] was divided into two troupes. Why do some people see a drama in that? As if the second MKhAT did not exist and as if the theater was not assigned studios. And, by the way, theater art benefited from this, and the audience benefited—they have a choice now.

Since everyone counts money now (and that is very good), the following problem arises: the creation of new journals will create additional expenses. But all large-circulation journals provide large profits and editorial expenditures make up a comparatively small amount of the proceeds. So that could hardly serve as an obstacle to dividing several journals and creating new ones. The gain from this can be great.

The competitive principle among journals, which today has clearly shifted in the direction of publishing material from the forgotten or emigre legacy, would force them, if the journals were divided and new ones were formed, to "show their products." Each of the journals which represents a certain esthetic direction and a certain general conception of art and its relationship to life should have to prove its advantage over the others. That opens new perspectives for the advancement of literature, the process of selecting talented people, the selection of works, and the formulation of the reader's attitude and the critical evaluation.

**On the Status of the Moscow Organization.** Its position within the union seems strange. The powerful 2,000-member detachment of writers is equal in status to the oblast department of the RSFSR Writers' Union. In terms of numbers the organization substantially exceeds all republic unions except the Russian one. Its creative potential is also quite impressive. But Moscow writers do not have either their own journal or publishing house or subscription weekly.

The journal MOSKVA and the weekly LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, which are formally organs of the RSFSR Writers' Union and the Moscow Division of the RSFSR Writers' Union in fact do not have any relationship with the Moscow writers' organization, since, naturally, they are subordinate to the higher office. The governing board of the RSFSR Writers' Union is in this case suzerain. I am not going to specify what the Moscow organization's governing board is in relation to it. The large-circulation MOSKOVSKIY LITERATOR and the annual DEN POEZII, whose conversion even into an almanac published four times a year is not succeeding at all, are all that we have today. The situation is abnormal and humiliating. People at the recent report and election party meeting of the Moscow writers' organization talked a great deal about this.

I think that it is not necessary to explain that the central publishing houses, newspapers, and journals in Moscow are open to all the country's writers. Nikolay Denisov, whom we already mentioned, complains of the lack of a

journal and publishing house in Tyumen, where there are about 20 members of the union, and proudly writes that the Tyumen writers' books come out in Moscow in the central publishing houses.

I think that Moscow writers, of which there are 2,000, not to mention the enormous number of young people writing, have sufficient reason to make claims to their own publishing house, journal, and subscription weekly.

Moscow writers are raising the question of granting their organization republic status. The secretariats of the governing boards of the USSR Writers' Union and the RSFSR Writers' Union have moved to abolish intermediate, between-congress reelections and granted Moscow and Leningrad the right of final admission into the Union's membership. I must say that all offices have a sympathetic attitude toward the proposal to grant the Moscow organization republic status, but for some reason they tie the decision in this matter to the writers' congress which will take place almost 3 years from now.

Today, when restructuring of the entire system of management and sovereignty of the people is going on from bottom to top and at full speed, it somehow even makes one uneasy to put off to a later time the solutions to questions which are as self-evident as this one; it can certainly be resolved at the next plenum of the USSR Writers' Union governing board.

I would also still like to urge the secretariat of the USSR Writers' Union governing board, which is now involved in the difficult work of reducing staffs, to work more dynamically to solve certain problems without waiting for the congress. Incidentally, the commission to draw up a new charter has slowed down in its activity. There are questions which must be resolved right now. I am thinking of the term for elected posts in the Writers' Union and for posts of editors of newspapers and journals and directors of publishing houses and their editors-in-chief. We must not prolong the stagnant phenomena where they can be corrected right now.

#### **OGONEK Literature Department Reviews Readers' Letters**

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[Report by the Literature Department: "Provincial Jokes"]

[Text] In 1988, OGONEK received approximately 10 times more letters than 3 years ago; out of these, over 6,000 letters were addressed to the Literature Department. The literary mailbag of OGONEK in its entirety convincingly shows that our readers wholeheartedly support what is talented and original in literature, rise passionately to the defense of their favorite writers, and are not at all inclined to view the current social and literary situation as gloomily as... say, participants in the field session of the RSFSR Writers Union in Ryazan.

At present, a compass is needed not only in the "sea of books," but also in the rough sea of letters from readers to the editorial offices of many newspapers and magazines. Otherwise, one can easily drown. Having read the last letters of the year which arrived at OGONEK, we found out to our surprise that the arrow of this compass was pointing in the direction of quite landlocked Ryazan Oblast, the birthplace of Sergey Yesenin. Our reader from the city of Pushkin in Leningrad Oblast S. Alekseyev, surprised by numerous ellipses in the epic "Song of the Great March", included in the dark blue volume of the "Poetic Library" ("Sovetskiy Pisatel," 1986) brought the poet to our mind.

"What is left out of the text?" asks the reader. Could it be that naughty lines by the poet embarrassed chaste compilers of the collection (I. Eventov and I. Aleksakhina)? Or did militant protectors of state secrets unearth some heresy?

Let us take the 1925 edition of the epic (Yesenin, Sergey, *Song of the Great March*, Moscow, 1925). Here they are, the lines missing from the 1986 edition:

In any time of trouble,  
A wave brings in the new.  
Who will fail to recall Zinovyev's speech now...  
And this is how Zinovyev spoke to all:  
Brothers, we'd rather  
Fall in battle here  
Than surrender to the enemy  
The Free City of Peter  
And put our heads  
In the yoke again.

Hey, chieftain!  
You are more like a Cossack lieutenant rather  
than a leader.  
The Communards do not have  
Comrade Trotsky for nothing.  
Without tearful speeches  
And intrepid sabre-rattling,  
He promised that our horses  
Will drink water from the Don.

We are not at all in sympathy with L. D. Trotsky; however, is it not time to return to the reader the concealed lines, the same as we are now returning from non-existence the entirely disgraced works and names of writers?

Meanwhile, the 4th All-Union Yesenin Poetry Festival drew to a close in Yesenin's birthplace, in the land of Ryazan. The framework of the festival appeared too restrictive to its sponsors. It was resolved to hold a field session of the Secretariat of the RSFSR Writers Union in Ryazan at that time. What did respectable writers talk about for 3 days? The topic of the meeting was global—"Our Culture and Literature in the Years of Perestroyka," and the guests did not condescend to

trifles such as the left-out lines. Instead, as LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA reports in issue 43, "tens of thousands of readers were able to meet famous writers, hear their authoritative views on the broadest scope of contemporary problems—from ecology to upbringing."

Tatyana Fedorovna Stolyarova, docent at the chair of philosophy of the Ryazan Radiotechnical Institute, sent a long letter to OGONEK from Ryazan. Here is her narration about the genuine goals of "the writers' landing" in Ryazan:

"This event is far from commonplace for the population of Ryazan. Think about it! So many famous names—V. Rasputin, Yu. Bondarev, P. Proskurin, S. Kunyayev, S. Vikulov, A. Sofronov and many others. I have lived in Ryazan for 15 years, and I do not remember Russian writers 'pampering' the inhabitants of Ryazan like that...

However, I am writing about my disappointment and concern, putting it mildly. I have not yet encountered a massive attack (I don't have it in me to call this "criticism") on the newspapers SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, the journal OGONEK and, to a lesser degree, ZNAMYA, NOVYY MIR and YUNOST such as the one undertaken at this meeting, though I am quite aware of the debate in the literary community due to publications in the press... If only you could see how far these people went (I mean the writers) during many meetings with the citizens of Ryazan and how many souls they managed to lead astray!"

In LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, statements by almost all Ryazan speakers were softened (we had an opportunity to review the full text). In the letter by T. F. Stolyarova, however, more extensive pronouncements are quoted: OGONEK, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA and their ilk are "the new apostles of the civil war" (A. Lanshchikov), "tax-farmers of perestroyka" (V. Rasputin); historian Yu. Afanasyev is "a stand-up Herodotus" (M. Lobanov), and so on, and so forth. Let us join Stolyarova once again in saying: "what kind of a lesson on the culture of disputes is this for Ryazan readers!"

LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA brought out an abbreviated version of this massive attack, bashfully noting "the bias and largely subjective nature" of many statements by Russian writers and critics. However, this report also includes interesting information on the Ryazan get-together. The following passage is curious: "Taking into account the opinion of readers, employees of industrial enterprises and agriculture, the people intelligentsia of the oblast" (is there the anti-people intelligentsia as well?—editor's note), the issue of organizing a mass "OGONEK-type" journal for the Russian Federation was raised in Ryazan."

So, one more journal, and why not? The question is, however, what is it going to be? And what is "type" supposed to mean? Is NASH SOVREMENNİK OGO-NEK-type or ZNAMYA-type? Be that as it may, it is

clear that the desirable organ will not be edited "in the American manner," which is the charge levelled at today's OGONEK by M. Lobanov, who, by the way, compared in MOLODAYA GVARDIYA the graphomaniacal writings by I. Shevtsov, the author of the sort of standard-setting "Plant Louse," to the works of Yu. Trifonov ("It would be all right if the books by Trifonov himself exceeded those by Shevtsov in terms of their literary merits, but they don't!")—indeed, there is no agreement as to such tastes. If M. Lobanov indeed believes what he says, then may his faith be richly rewarded).

Let us try and imagine what this journal "not in the American manner" will be like.

The prose in NEO-OGONEK will be all right, we understand. All right, but not at all OK. And what about poetry? The Ryazan speakers put forward their fellows from the poetic guild as well. One of them is Feliks Chuev, the author of the notorious lines:

Let anybody who comes in  
Feel dependent  
On the motherland, on all things Russian.  
In the middle, there is  
Our generalissimo  
And his great marshals.

Others will be found as well. As far as ideologues are concerned who will advise and rectify in case of something, the publication conceived has an abundance of them. Thus, along with M. Lobanov, critic A. Lanshchikov who stated in Ryazan that, in his opinion, "stalinist superpower cosmopolitanism" was the result of the civil war, is also in the running for the job of an ideologue. How is that? Even Stalin can be made from a warrior against "the cosmopolitans" into a cosmopolitan himself. Indeed, there are no lengths to which one will not go in his desire to be holier than the Pope...

Another writer of poems and ideolog A. Sofronov, who, by the way, edited OGONEK "not in the American manner," also referred to the times of struggle against cosmopolitanism, making this nostalgic statement in Ryazan:

"We resolved something of a similar nature one way or the other in the late 1940s, also proceeding from the events which occurred in our literary and theatrical-literary practice in their time. Whether we wanted it or not, we had to fight equally hard battles."

Still, as we see it, the main problem of the Ryazan orators ("Why are you threatening Russia with excommunication?"—A. S. Pushkin) is not even in the nostalgia for the 1940s, but in the fact that they do not accept the present day. Our current cultural and literary life appears to them to be "a broken trough," and they see it exclusively through the black glasses. They brand with

infamy not only their colleagues (though by now insults have come about for which people are taken to court in a state of law), but try to condemn an entire historical process in pointed phrases.

A characterization of the current stage of perestroika by the self-critical A. Lanshchikov is deplorable: "Even now we are doing a lot so that this era of developed stagnation could turn into one of developed chaos." S. Vikulov expresses his lack of acceptance of the future even more pointedly: "In short, when you think about the present condition of our people and draw a link between this and perestroika, this thought inescapably occurs: is it not time for us to look into the human soul? Is it not time to look and sort out the condition of this soul now that we have been molesting it for 3 or maybe 4 years by 'turning over the coffins,' which was mentioned in a note from the audience? For a month and a half, I have travelled the very low stations in life (if this is not a secret, where did this take the editor of NASH SOVREMENNİK—editor's note), and when the conversation was not of an official nature at all I saw that the people were losing faith not only in perestroika, but in something greater. Are we not playing with fire too much?"

This is where the watershed lies between current schools in social and literary life: for some, perestroika is the spring of renewal, perhaps, with slushy rough streams carrying mud and splinters, but spring nonetheless; for others, it is chaos and playing with fire...

Let us, however, return to A. Lanshchikov:

"If we do not get stronger economically, do not experience a spiritual rebirth and do not work out a profound, unifying peace idea, will the West not be tempted into 'peaceful' technological aggression, and the Orient into equally 'peaceful' demographic aggression? I dare not speculate aloud on the consequences of these meeting movements."

We want to exclaim, together with an OGONEK reader: "It is mighty old and mighty fruitless!"

Indeed, the implementation of new forms in the socioeconomic and cultural life of our society will entail new contradictions, there will be some new costs and mistakes. Unfortunately, non-contradictory proposals promising "a bright future" end up being nothing but a snow job. Let us look toward the coming day boldly and soberly, and let us not seek enemies where there are none.

Now let us switch from the woes of Ryazan to those of Moscow, and from Yesenin to Mayakovsky.

The article by S. Sarnov "How Tall Was Mayakovsky?" (OGONEK No 19) generated an immense amount of mail in 1988. The response by A. Velikorechin from Moscow shows his love of literature and is a cry of his soul. At issue is the standardization of treatment of great



writers such as Gorkiy and Mayakovskiy, and "not as much of their creative work, but of the view of them which took shape in the years when, as a result of direct instructions from Stalin, they were given the dubious honor of being idolized and anointed." "Creating an idol amounts exactly to 'shortening,' if not the destruction of the writer in the eyes of his broad readership. The reader is different now. He has managed to learn that manuscripts do not burn... The appointment to be 'major figures' hurt both Gorkiy and Mayakovskiy in the eyes of the mass reader. The 'praised' Mayakovskiy suffered no less from influential thoughtlessness than the 'denounced' ones." "We will not surrender Mayakovskiy to be devoured by the dogs of banality!" exclaimed Meyerkhod when he learned that the image of Mayakovskiy was used as a stick to discipline those guilty of literary "heresy."

Let us agree with the reader: by 1988, we have received elementary education, and have reconsidered that movement to wherever ordered is more dangerous than a trip into the unknown: "He motions me to the right with his baton. I am going to the right—it is great!"

Now we must name names, and give people their due. "What would have happened to perestroyka in literature at the beginning of last century, if the citizens of Arzamas had criticized BESEDA without naming Khvostov, Shishkov, Shakhovskoy? Why should the respective names not be named now?" writes to us A. Velikorechin. He carries on: "Together with voices from the void, the reader has acquired the belief that genuine literature will not be humiliated or destroyed. To the mind of the readers, it is not B. Sarnov and S. Rassadin who humiliate literature, but the eternal yawn passed off as literature."

I. Sutyryna, a library employee from Leningrad, refers to the already odious articles by that same M. Lobanov in MOLODAYA GVARDIYA; she defends uncompromisingly B. Okudzhava from Moscow and V. Sosnora from Leningrad:

"In the article by M. Lobanov 'History and Its Literary Version' (MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, 1988, No 3), many names which are dear to me are disparaged. Accusations levelled at B. Okudzhava and other writers are without any proof, while the tone of the article is unduly free. Having set out to write about Okudzhava, whose name millions of people pronounce with profound respect, the critic finds no other words than 'puny, vain attempts at being entertaining,' 'unrestrained literary tastelessness and triteness,' 'jeering anecdotes,' 'stamped (?) novels,' 'a mere literary farce,' and, finally, 'pamphlets' against the Russian people... It is indeed awkward to explain to the well-known critic, the author of monographs on Aksakov and Ostrovskiy, that confusing the characters with the author amounts to, putting it mildly, professional incompetence."

Dwelling on the novel "The Savior of the Motherland" by V. Sosnora, the critic notes, referring to the selection of Peter III as a character, that "the selection itself is characteristic." This is no trifle, it turns out: Peter III rubbed shoulders with the Masons! Supposedly, it is clear at this point who V. Sosnora is working for. As an Okudzhava character said, "could it be that he is a French spy; after all, everything that is ours is repugnant to him."

There were "trotskyites," there were "cosmopolitans," now there are "masons." The vocabulary changes, but the "grammar" remains the same. In all sincerity, I have difficulty believing that the article by M. Lobanov is the result of the critic's incompetence. I would rather take it as one more move in the game MOLODAYA GVARDIYA has been playing in an effort to split our literature into, say, "urban" and "rural," or "intellectual" and "popular," or "pro-people" and "anti-people."

A reader from Smolensk Fedor Vasilyevich Reukov, a veteran of war and labor, sent us clippings from the oblast newspaper RABOCHIY PUT with a discussion on the famous "letter of eleven" concerning editorial activities by A. T. Tvardovskiy. This is how he ends his letter:

"Thank you, Nataliya Ilyina and Irina Dementyeva, for your bold deeds, for the word of truth spoken in defense of our great poet Aleksandr Trifonovich Tvardovskiy! Thank you for your courage!"

Many of those in the "Ryazan assault team" may not like these words, though they are spoken by the very "common reader" to whom the "Ryazan folks" appeal (may the inhabitants of Ryazan forgive us for this use of the word).

How can we express in a word what the "Ryazan folks" find the most offensive? Yes, there is such a word, which now surfaces more and more often—pluralism, or, in Russian parlance, variety. Writer S. Lykoshin did, after all, state in Ryazan that our pluralism is, supposedly, "smerdyakovian staff," and "omnivorousness." It is not easy to understand right away why it is "smerdyakovian," and only later do you penetrate the artful analogy: Smerdyakov killed his father, and we denounce the one about whom we sang "... is our father!" (see the article "The Father Syndrome" in OGONEK).

To be sure, some of those who took the floor in Ryazan did speak about pluralism without condemnation, but they confused it with other difficult words, say, "ambivalence." However, plurality of opinions was successfully banished from speeches made in this representative forum; a majority of speakers began by fully embracing "the marvelous statement of the comrade before me." Subsequently, having painted a picture of our cultural and social life, too dramatic to their mind, they concluded: "There is only one way out..." So much for pluralism!

Fortunately, the literary process in our country brought on by perestroika does not hinge on the gloomy articles and speeches by "the Ryazan folks." All of us still have to learn about thinking in scenarios, alternatively, without which it is impossible to either manage social processes or understand the course of the literary process.

T. F. Stolyarova, whose letter we have already quoted, writes:

"There is no way I can agree with charges made against SOVETSKAYA KULTURA and OGONEK for creating the situation of intolerance for 'the proponents of national culture' (which V. Rasputin and A. Lanshchikov spoke about). I have been reading the two publications for many years, and I have never found anything like this in their pages. Furthermore, I have encountered no calls for 'national self-denial' there..."

I am a Russian, and the Russian national issue is my great concern. The Russian people and Russian culture face many acute national problems. However, the manner in which S. Kunyaev, A. Kazintsev, P. Gorelov and others raise these issues gives grounds for a rebuke. The style of thinking, form of narration and nature of arguments suggest that they are almost the ideologues of the infamous "Pamyat." The set of names of the persecutors of Russian literature is so arranged that it unambiguously points to "the intrigues of Zionism." Here is a sample of their arguments: in the large and multifaceted novel by V. Grossman "Life and Fate," A. Kazintsev finds only the lines on 1,000 years of servitude by the Russian people and its consequences worthy of his attention, and holds them up with jubilation as yet another attempt to wound the national dignity of Russians. What do we do about Chekhov, however, who called for squeezing out the slave [spirit], drop after drop, or Chernyshevskiy, with his bitter address to fellow countrymen: slaves, slaves, from top to bottom slaves...?

Pardon me, but I find S. Kunyaev's attempt to find positives in the Black Hundreds movement monstrous... I am not aware of the composition of the secretariat of the RSFSR Writers Union, but, whatever it is, it should not represent only the current authors of NASH SOVREMENNİK and MOLODAYA GVARDIYA journals. Are S. Zalygin, B. Mozhayev, D. Granin, A. Pristavkin and A. Bitov Russian writers or not? Their names were not mentioned in a single speech by anybody. Could it be that they have nothing to do with our literature and our perestroika?"

Let us add to the rhetorical questions of our reader: could it be that the writers mentioned simply do not share the views of NASH SOVREMENNİK and MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, whereas for these journals "he who is not with us is against us"? Candidate of technical sciences Aleksander Rutter from Moscow sent the following letter on the position of NASH SOVREMENNİK:

"I think that the wait-and-see attitude assumed by OGONEK is erroneous: 'Pamyat' and its proponents are operating very vigorously, as evidenced by 'Pamyat'

appearances in Leningrad and publications by its advocates in NASH SOVREMENNİK. This journal has become a permanent forum for 'Pamyat' adherents and its direct and indirect protectors. In the first half of 1988, it carried four such articles by V. Rasputin, A. Kuzmin, A. Kazintsev and a letter by a group of scientists from Minsk in defense of V. Begun, an employee of the Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences.

"The publication in issue 5 of the journal is particularly disgraceful because of the editorial notes rather than the letter by the Minsk scientists. These notes are nothing else but a most vulgar distortion of the article 'On the Jewish Issue' by K. Marx, an attempt to portray Marx as an antisemite. This antimarxist, basically provocative attack should be rebuffed in the most decisive manner..."

"One more issue, not the most important one, but the one that concerns the editorial office of NASH SOVREMENNİK: was the greatest scientist of the world Albert Einstein a Zionist or not? Begun believes that he was the greatest scientist—and the greatest Zionist.

"Before the war, Einstein supported the idea of creating an independent Jewish state, which was created in 1948 with active help from the Soviet Union. However, Einstein never took part in Zionist activities and had nothing to do with any Zionist organization. Instead, he had a lot to do, and directly, with the struggle against nuclear weapons. Did V. Begun have a right to defame the greatest scientist by calling him the greatest Zionist?"

"Let us recall that 10 years ago Academician M. Korostovskiy, a major specialist on the criticism of Zionist ideology, called V. Begun's point of view on many issues he had studied 'oppressively primitive and comprehensively harmful...' The scientifically sounding antisemitism of V. Begun is as dangerous as the extremism of the 'Russian National and Patriotic Front Pamyat.'

"Defenders from Minsk decided to intercede on V. Rasputin's behalf as well. Yes, he is a major writer and social activist. He has been given the title of the Hero of Socialist Labor. This all the more increases his responsibility for every word he says and every line he prints. This is why his statements in defense of 'Pamyat' cannot be approved. We are against the Black Hundreds, the 'Pamyat' Association and its advocates, we are against chauvinism and nationalism, against those who preach antisemitism under the guise of the struggle against Zionism and fuel hatred and suspicion... Internationalism and the friendship of peoples are our eternal values."

There is no better way to put it.

At one time, Stalin exiled entire peoples. At present, some critics write that, for example, creative work by I. Babel is "a phenomenon in Jewish literature," exiling

from Russian literature not only "The Odessa Stories" but also "The Cavalry Army" (and M. Shagal, says S. Kunyaev, "cannot be either a Russian or Belorussian artist because he sort of painted in the Jewish language").

To be sure, such critics are a far cry from Stalin, because they restrict themselves to individual writers and artists, but, lo and behold...

The gloomy heritage of the stalinist era, an approach to complex social processes boiled down to disciplinary decisions, has struck deep roots in the thinking of some "sovereigns of thought." It would not be proper to pass in silence over the fact that their statements, including those in Ryazan, their bias and unruliness of style are paralleled by some letters from readers who may have been molded by them, and, in any event, share their views.

For example, Natalya Ivanova, an OGONEK author, received the following letter from a Kaluga teacher in response to the article "From 'Enemies of the People' to 'Enemies of the Nation'?" (1988, No 36):

"I am a teacher with 40 years of tenure. I was particularly upset and made indignant by the article "From 'Enemies of the People'..." Having read the article, I thought: 'What is her life for?' She is a definite opportunist, passing herself off as the minds of all people and substituting herself, her personal opinion for all great contemporary writers. To my mind, contemporary critics are parasites on the body of writers... Of course, the main thing now is to criticize Stalin, everything else is secondary. Whoever is against this perilous criticism is not with her and not with the people... The most important thing is her, her opinions and judgments, her analysis of works, articles. As a matter of fact, who needs her critical articles??? Hence my second question for her: whose bread does N. Ivanova eat??? At whose expense does she exist as a critic and a person? Whose back does she crawl over?"

It is awkward to even read this. How come people, teachers, have so little respect for literary work, have the desire to humiliate the opponent and, ultimately, are plainly wicked? How come you, a teacher for many years, are so inclined to see somebody's directing and pointing hand behind the personal opinion of a critic? Proceeding from this, it is not too difficult to brand N. Ivanova an agent of foreign intelligence services ("whose bread does she eat?"). Or is it that disrespect for a personal opinion has become our second nature—as long as this is not the opinion of the one and only person, the beloved demigod?

A book of letters from the readers to our famous historian Academician Samsonov was just published by Politizdat Publishers. This book, "To Know and Remember," is a "cross-section of the frame of mind" in Soviet society characteristic of the years of perestroika. An analysis of 2,500 letters brings us to the conclusion that

stalinism in our country is alive and well at two levels—at the pseudo-scientific and literary level, reviewed in the article by Yu. Karyakin "Is It Worthwhile to Step on the Rakes?" (ZNAMYA, 1987, No 9), and at the level of common consciousness. It is significant that the level of common consciousness has changed profoundly in recent years, but, as B. Brecht said, "the womb that bore the vile creature is not barren yet."

It is possible to compile an astonishingly interesting book of letters addressed to another noted scientist, Academician D. Likhachev (at any rate, there are many such letters in the mailbag of OGONEK). We are inclined to believe that none of them will repeat the words published by M. Lobanov in issue 9 of the anthology KUBAN, as reported to us by our reader from Krasnodar E. Krylova and confirmed in Ryazan as well. "The advocate of national culture" shows no mercy to the one who has become its actual spokesman:

"Academician Likhachev did appeal to his colleagues throughout the world to unite and rally into an elite of supranational, worldwide, cosmopolitan intelligentsia of sorts, which should lead the world, and not necessarily intellectually. In the 1930s, they renounced fathers in our country, now they are calling on us to renounce our people."

Lies again. Yes, in the 1930s some children did renounce their fathers, but at present nobody is asking us to renounce our people, including Academician Likhachev. "Renounce"—this is said about a man who has always been together with his people (even "where my people has, unfortunately, been," as Akhmatova put it)! Our dear critic, come on, read, say, remarks by D. Likhachev "On Things Russian"—one of his simplest and most readily available books. After all, you cannot restrict yourself to rereading "The Plant Louse" by Shevtsov day in and day out. Let us only recall that Russian culture has always been marked by responsiveness, "wordliness." This is the only thing the academician recalled when he called on the intellectuals of the world to rally against the threat of nuclear war.

We want to believe that manifests by "Ryazan" and other orators will not drag Russian culture into the quagmire of national restrictiveness.

By the way, citizens of Ryazan confirmed that this belief was not without foundation: they sent a great number of notes with absolutely justified questions to the visiting writers. Writer Vladimir Krupin responded to one of them. Having read the note: "A struggle is underway, but who is fighting who is unclear," Krupin immediately began to upbraid the author:

"How come it is unclear, what have we been doing here all this time? Those who love the motherland fight those who care for nothing."

If we recall who "those who love the motherland" pitted themselves against, then, perhaps, the writer took too much upon himself in this instance.

Many friends of OGONEK send hard-to-get provincial publications to the editor with a request to respond immediately. In our fresh mail, we found a letter from Tashkent with the article by G. Fomaiddi "How the Poster Exhibition Was Opened" published on 6 October 1988 in KOMSO-MOLETS UZBEKISTANA. It is an interesting article. Here, however, is one paragraph from it:

"When the size of the crowd became 'threatening,' as the militia saw it, the first representatives of the authorities came up to find out what the reason was for the people to gather. The reason was that the posters, uneven in their technique, were pointed and current. They touched on the most sensitive issues of our life. Two posters attracted particular attention. Brezhnev was the main character of the first one ('Behind the Looking Glass'). The second poster—a picture from the book Sh. Rashidov with a laudatory foreword by Vadim Kozhinov and a portrait of the former first secretary. Its title was 'Vadim, who are you with now?'"

Literary, critical and other activities by Vadim Kozhinov are known. However, in this instance he was wronged unduly: the preface for Rashidov was written by another Vadim, the late Kozhevnikov. It is desirable for KOMSO-MOLETS UZBEKISTANA to apologize to Vadim Kozhinov for this mistake. You cannot defame a literary critic just because you don't like him.

To our mind, KUBAN should apologize to Academician Likhachev. However, in this instance the issue involves a position rather than a mistake...

Here is what our reader E. Krylova writes on the position of KUBAN: "As is known, province is a social and spiritual rather than geographical notion... I have lived in Krasnodar for 30 years now. In our area of high yields, material values have long been placed well above spiritual ones. The literature, music, painting and theater of Kuban are hard to see behind the million tons of Medunov's rice and millions in deposits at local savings banks... However, as time goes by, intellectuals of Kuban appear to be waking up from their slumber. In 'our small Paris' (this is how the remarkable writer from Kuban Viktor Likhonosov lovingly called our city in the novel so titled), the winds of change are blowing. Trouble is they are blowing exclusively from 'the right' and are about to blow us into the quagmire.

"Let us begin by saying that critic Vitaliy Kanashkin, a quite contradictory person, became the editor of the literary anthology KUBAN, the only one in the kray. At

one time, he socked it in the press to Likhonosov himself (and not to him alone), and then publicly beat his breast and repented on the pages of the kray youth newspaper (supposedly, his heart was not in it, and he did it on orders 'from above'). Now he is a 'foreman of perestroika,' and he took the work up immediately.

"Citizens of Kuban learned the joyous news that the new rubric of the anthology 'Perestroika: Literature and Life' has in store for them a meeting with the writers and critics who have been holding concentric defense around NASH SOVREMENNİK. Deeds immediately followed words, and issue 9 carried a conversation between Kanashkin and critic Mikhail Lobanov...

"In Lobanov's words, the writers, scientists and critics whose articles we carefully pass from person to person 'suffered from the lack of recognition until 50 or 60 years of age, ...in complete agreement with stagnation-brand optimism, and have now arisen.' Who are these villains? Lobanov stands ready to enlighten us.

"Andrey Nuykin—'wants to feed stuff from the spiritual trash heap to the gullible,' Nikolay Shmelev—'derides everything national'... Mikhail Shatrov and Aleksandr Gelman—'amateurish playwrights—illustrators,' Egor Yakovlev—'for decades, tackled the topic of Lenin, and suddenly installed such 'democracy' in his newspaper—'that he was honored with an international journalism prize' (in Lobanov's opinion, this is shameful!), Yuriy Afanasyev—'a short time ago, unknown to anyone, ... at present, the herald of new ideas,' and so on.

"The idea of blood purity robs him of his sleep at night, it calls for action. He uses a simple device even when talking about the most difficult chapters in the history of the people—forcible collectivization, de-cossackization, the organization of artificial hunger. Kaganovich, Trotsky, Sverdlov, Frenkel and... no one else are declared to be the culprits.

"Here are the 'enemy' publications: SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI and OGONEK,' which, the critic warns us, 'shocks millions of readers by the rock of glasnost... so that people will not think about their national culture.'

"Apparently, the all-around popularity of the above enemies has become quite a thorn in Lobanov's side, if he allows himself this excited tone and gutter language... We would like to thank this gallant defender of the national idea—he really opened our eyes! Our profound gratitude is due for extending tutelage to a backward province to other Moscow writers as well: KUBAN is preparing to host debaters steed in battle—V. Kozhinov, Yu. Bondarev, V. Belov. Have you guessed by now how the anthology KUBAN is called in 'our little Paris?' Correct, 'our little contemporary [NASH Malenkiy SOV-REMENNİK].'"

What do we do about those who do not want to see their fellow citizens and contemporaries as "small?"

Indeed, as the letters suggest, the reader is no longer small, and can respond convincingly to the statements by professional critics which violate professional ethics and promote discord in the literary guild.

In general, we must say that over the years the mail of OGONEK has been changing not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively. In the past, it was dominated by poems written by beginners, whereas now people resort to critical letters increasingly often in order to respond to one publication or another, and, somewhat less frequently, in order to express their ideas on the literature brought back from social non-existence. Analyzing this mail could benefit a sociologist greatly. Life itself has sponsored a referendum of sorts on acute political, economic, historical and literary issues. When you read many of the letters you get the impression that, if we do not excommunicate each other and dispute the obvious truths with passion, we could finally tackle less obvious truths.

We would still very much like to find in critical works a profound professional analysis of literary strengths and weaknesses of writings rather than research on the ethnic background of the author and his characters (or, on the other hand, arguments about the futility of "the national idea"). We would very much like to discover new prose-writers and poets which delight us by more than just a similar civic position. And—let us dream on—we would like to see more letters from readers impressed with new, remarkable works and capable articles about them. So far, however, our readers are literally forced to put some writers wise and assume the function of enlightenment, which has traditionally been the domain of Russian literature.

We hope that our readers will be no less helpful in the coming year than they have been this year, because the dream of normalizing our literary life will not come true any time soon.

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### **Soloukhin Explains Reservations About 'Memorial' Society**

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[Article by V. Soloukhin: "Why I Did Not Sign That Letter"]

[Text] Some time ago, I received a letter from the founding group of the voluntary association "Memorial." Preserving the memory of victims of illegal and unjustified repressions of the mid-1930s was stated to be the goal of the association. My signature under a pertinent letter to the CPSU Central Committee was solicited. It was mentioned on that occasion that many

signatures had already been gathered. I did not sign that letter, and, I might say, it looks monstrous. This is why I have resolved to explain and justify my position, at least for my own benefit.

At that time, when I refused to sign, I asked representatives of the founding group just one question to which no response was given. I asked: "From which year on should the repressions be considered illegal and unjustified, and through which year may they be considered both legal and justified?"

By the way, the notion "illegal" soon drifted out of circulation somehow. Only the word "unjustified" remained. Then, even this word was omitted. For example, a report on the setting up of a social council which will guide the creation and operation of "Memorial" states as concisely as possible: "Memorial to the victims of stalinist repressions," without any additional attribution or epithets.

"The council consists of famous writers, historians, social activists: A. Adamovich, Yu. Afanasyev, G. Baklanov, V. Bykov, Ye. Yevtushenko, B. Yeltsin, Yu. Karyakin, V. Korotich, D. Likhachev, R. Medvedev, B. Okudzava, L. Razgon, A. Rybakov, A. Sakharov, A. Solzhenitsyn<sup>1</sup>, M. Ulyanov, M. Shatrov."

Despite the authoritative and, in a way, unique composition of the council, I sensed a feeling of inner protest of sorts, having read this report in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI.

Let us imagine a founding group advocating a monument to the victims of the Great Patriotic War who fell in 1944. Let us assume that immediate relatives of the originators perished in that year, and here they are advocating the monument to the victims of the war in 1944.

Any man with a common sense approach will ask: "Wait a moment, what about 1943, or 1942, or, finally, 1941? Is this to say that those who fell in this year do not deserve to be commemorated? Could it be that nobody fell in these years at all?"

Indeed, looking into the 1920s, as well as the years 1918 and 1919, is scary and difficult. One more reason it is difficult found in the fact that the stalinist repressions have left at least some traces in the form of interrogation protocols, falsified and extracted by torture as they were, records of trials, trumped-up as they were, and sentences committed to paper, whereas the preceding years and decades have left no documents, names, lists, or even the number of people exterminated. Through mathematical and demographical calculations, they arrive at the number of 15 to 17 million people (excluding collectivization and the 1933 famine). Alas, there is no way to confirm

these statistics now. (By the way, why should we not announce publicly in these days of glasnost how many people indeed were shot in the thoroughly documented year 1937?)

There are no documents, no archives. Only scant, disjointed testimonials which may be gleaned from literary sources have survived since the 1920s. One could not write or talk about it, but there was so much of "it" that bits and pieces have miraculously survived. These "bits and pieces" cannot be a legal document, but they can be a human document.

For example, an episode involving a quarrel between the poet Osip Mandelshtam and a senior Chekist Blyumkin. It has been described in many memoirs, including those of Nadezhda Yakovlevna Mandelshtam (in a softer form, to be sure), which we are going to refer to later.

During a party, Blyumkin and Mandelshtam happened to be in the same group of people. Being quite drunk, Blyumkin began to boast: "Intelligentsia? Culture? So much for all your intelligentsia!" With these words, he pulled out of his pocket a stack of warrants for execution by a firing squad signed by his superiors, but with names not filled in. He found a list of people incarcerated in the Lubyanka [Prison] in his other pocket, and in everybody's view began to fill in the warrants. The poet could not stand the sight, lunged at the Chekist, snatched the warrants from him, and crumpled or even tore them up.

Once, when I recounted this episode at a meeting with readers trying to prove that there was no more legality and justification for the operations by Blyumkin than there was for some episode of terror in the 1930s, a girl from the audience shouted in a partial voice: "But these were enemies!" I had no difficulty asking the one who shouted after a pause:

"Have you seen these lists? Do you know whose names were on them?"

As it were, the entire essence of the repressions is in this cry. It was enough to say "enemies," and you could exterminate millions. It did not really make much difference that on one occasion the word "enemies" was followed by the words "of the revolution," and on the other, the words "of the people" were tacked on. We read in the memoirs by N. Ya. Mandelshtam: "Approaching our era in terms of the Roman law or the Napoleonic Code and similar documents of legal thought... People were removed by strata, by categories (the age was also taken into account). Members of the clergy, mystics, learned idealists, thinkers, people with ideas on the law, the state or economics... The people in the rooting-out business thought up a proverb: 'As long as there is a person, a charge could always be found.' We heard it for the first time in Yalta (1928) from Furmanov, the writer's brother. He knew something about it as a former Chekist still associated with that organization through his wife."

Nadezhda Yakovlevna did not enumerate all the strata. Male and female grammar school students, and, even more so, teachers and principals, local administration managers ["zemtsy"] and land surveyors, the merchant class and the nobles, managers of tenements, banks, railways, lawyers and university professors, captains of river craft and bar owners, intellectuals in general, the upper stratum of society in general...

Nadezhda Yakovlevna carries on her reasoning: "the boys who were making history at the time exhibited boyish cruelty... Why is it the easiest to turn young people into murderers? Why does youth regard human life with such criminal thoughtlessness? This is particularly apparent in fateful epochs, when blood is shed and murder becomes commonplace. We were set on people like dogs, and the pack licked the hunter's hand with senseless yelping. The anthropophagous mentality spread like a disease (anthropophagy—cannibalism—note by V. S.). In Kiev, in Ekster's studio, some out-of-town visitor, either Rashal or Chernyak, recited limericks by Mayakovskiy about officers being drowned in the Moyka. The cheerful verse had its effect, and I started laughing...."

"Many people still ask me why O. M. did it (lunged at Blyumkin—note by V. S.) at a time when people were shot left and right."

"We came together with O. M. on 1 May 1919, and he told me that the Bolsheviks responded to the murder of Uritskiy by a 'hecatomb of corpses.' We parted on 1 May 1938, when two soldiers led him away pushing him in the back."

Let us explain for those who do not remember this that hecatombs are ancient Greek sacrifices consisting of 100 bulls at a time. Figuratively, a hecatomb means enormous numbers of victims of war or terror. Putting it simply, it is a massacre.

So, a massacre was the response to Uritskiy's death. The murder of Uritskiy was a terrorist act. How many persons could have been involved in the terrorist act? By no means the tens of thousands who were turned into mountains of corpses.

So, was the murder of these tens of thousands legal and justified? Nadezhda Yakovlevna drew a sober and objective conclusion from a simple coincidence in dates—1 May 1919 and 1 May 1938: when abolishing all legality in Russia, did we think that in 20 years it will turn against us personally?

Nadezhda Yakovlevna continues to testify from Kiev: "Through the window, we saw a cart full of naked corpses. They were carelessly covered by a bast mat, and parts of dead bodies protruded on all sides. The Cheka was located in our neighborhood, and the corpses were

probably hauled to the country. I was told that they had a gutter installed there for the blood to seep down—the technology was still naive” (Nadezhda Mandelshtam, “The Second Book,” p 26).

Let us transfer ourselves from Kiev to Odessa and read a testimonial by none other than Ivan Alekseyevich Bunin. “By the way, something about the Odessa Extraordinary Commission. Now they have a new fashion for shooting people—over the toilet bowl.” (Ivan Bunin, “Cursed Days,” Zarya Publishers, London, 1977, p 94). So, a toilet bowl instead of a gutter. More convenient and hygienic. A shot. Then hold the head over the toilet bowl and flush. Next one! Was this supposed to happen within the framework of legal and justified deeds?

Following Bunin, let us call the outstanding and famous writer, humanist and democrat Vladimir Galaktionovich Korolenko as a witness.

Sometimes we think about and guess how, say, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Gertsen, Nekrasov or Dostoyevskiy would have viewed the events of the 1920s (and the 2 previous years)... This is unknown. Here is Korolenko, however. During these years, he happened to be in his native Poltava, not far from Mirgorod, Sorochintsy, Dikanka. What can be more peaceful and idyllic than these places?

In 1920, Lunacharskiy visits Korolenko, most likely in order to sound him out and learn what the famous and popular writer, sufferer for the cause of people's truth, was thinking. In order to ascertain this in a more detailed and documented fashion, Lunacharskiy talked Korolenko into writing him letters, promising solemnly that they will be published. Later, he dispensed with Korolenko as follows: “These ‘righteous people’ are terrified that our hands are bloody.” Not a single letter was published. Instead, a team of doctors from Moscow came to Korolenko “to cure his cold,” and in 1921 Vladimir Galaktionovich passed away.

His letters were not lost, however. They were published in Paris in 1922, and this book is available at the special storage unit in the Lenin Library. (When this article was being written, the Korolenko letters were not yet published by NOVYY MIR, 1988, No 10). Let us reproduce several excerpts from the letters.

“The nightmarish episode of shootings during your visit put such a barrier of sorts between us that I cannot talk about anything.”

“Once a member of the All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission met me at the Poltava Extraordinary Commission where I went often with various petitions at this time as well and asked me about my impressions. I answered: if district gendarme directorates under the tsar had received the right... to put people to death, it would have been the same thing we are witnessing now.

“To this my interlocutor responded:

“But this is being done for the benefit of the people.””

“In the street, the Chekists shot several so-called ‘counterrevolutionaries.’ They were already being led to the cemetery on a dark night, where people to be shot were lined up next to an open grave and shot without any further ado at the time. It could be that they indeed tried to escape (little wonder), and they were shot right there in the street... Be that as it may, people gathering at the market the next morning could still see pools of blood which the dogs were licking...”

“It pains me to think that you, Anatoliy Vasilyevich, expressed sympathy with these ‘administrative shootings’ in your speech, instead of a call to sober up and a reminder about justice, about a careful attitude to human life which has now become so cheap.”

“In our area, dozens of executions by firing squads without a trial occur.”

Korolenko inserted his letter to the Mirgorod Cheka in one of his letters to Lunacharskiy.

“Comrade Poroyko,

“I have received your kind reply to my letter... Thank you for your kindness toward me personally; however, I have found out that 9 persons were already shot the day before, including one girl who was 17 and two more minors. I know now that the Extraordinary Commission is ‘trying’ other citizens of Mirgorod, and executions without a trial are again a possibility...”

“Comrade Petrovskiy cabled Poltava not to proceed with executing the minor, and Pishchalka has been sent to Kharkov, as they say. The fate of Pishchalka is still very much in doubt, because here the expression ‘to send to Kharkov’ is the equivalent of ‘to send to hell’ (this is what the enquiry desk tells the relatives of people who were shot).”

Certainly, as a democrat, humanist and searcher for the truth, he could not view what was happening quietly, but he could not do anything either. Well, he interceded on behalf of a girl named Pishchalka, maybe even saved her from being shot, but what is one Pishchalka when the same was going on in all numerous cities of the huge state? However, no documents were left, and by now there are no witnesses as well.

One more literary source is found in the remarkable novel by Valentin Katayev “Verter Has Already Been Written.” The narration is in the first person. The character of the novel, a young man from Odessa, was apprehended by the Cheka. He is being led to an interrogation. (Let us say ahead of time that he was to be shot too, but at the last moment was forced to step aside. His mother managed to intervene on his behalf with a senior Chekist, and he stayed alive. He remained a witness.

Had they wasted him together with the rest of them, there would be no witness, as was the case on other occasions. Nor would we have a writer by the name of V. Katayev, by the way.)

So, he is being led to an interrogation. "I heard steps. A beautiful girl in a grammar school uniform but without an apron appeared on the landing of the sixth floor... Her thoroughbred chin was up, and it had gone white with quiet contempt; her neck was showing. The usual lace collar and lace cuffs on the sleeves were gone... Behind her was a commissar with a pistol, a copy of his commissar. Both had something Trotsky-like, black-leather about them... One was escorting his prisoner down after an interrogation, the other was taking his up for one. Her little chiselled nose lightened up. She was the famous Vengrzhankovskaya, the most beautiful grammar school-girl in town. It was with her that he once danced the hiawatha ["khiavata"]... She was a participant in the Polish-English conspiracy. They decided to start an uprising, capture the city, and, having exterminated the commissars and communists, give it to the great Poland [stretching] 'from sea to sea'...

"Now all of them were going to be disposed of. Maybe, even tonight, together with him. About 20 persons will be scraped up, and that is enough for one list... about an hour's worth of work.

"They say that men and women are not segregated in the process. In accordance with the list. However, prior to that they all have to undress entirely. They will depart the way they were born.

"Will Vengrzhankovskaya get undressed in front of everyone as well?

"...The investigator remained in the shadow. A young nondescript face. A young man with a big nose. The eyes of a horse. A 'colt' spreading the smell of oil on a huge desk close to his elbow. A luxurious office with leather-upholstered furniture. It could be that not so long ago an attorney lived here, a colleague of his father... But the red panel with the slogan 'Death to Counterrevolution!' was even more frightening. He had already seen this banner at the May Day demonstration. They carried it at the head of the column of District Cheka employees. A familiar portrait was on the wall: a pince-nez without a rim, the screws of eyes that did not see and promised death, nothing but death...

"...The tramping of many feet burst into the hallway of a basement. The doors of cells are opening one by one. A voice calling out familiar and unfamiliar names from the list is approaching.

"Prokudin, von Dideriks, Sikorskiy, Nikolayev, Ralli, Vengrzhankovskaya, Omelchenko.' Will he be spared or not? He will not. The lock clicked. Through the crack of

the half-open door a leather jacket flashed dimly. Belts over the shoulder. An astrakhan cap. A hand-held flashlight. A spot of light ran along a sheet of paper with a triangular stamp.

"Out with your gear. Karabazov, Voynitskiy, Nechiporenko, Vigland, Vengrzhankovskiy...

"Time has ceased to exist, because the dark night enveloped them, the aroma of petunias spread, and they were all sitting in an open gazebo not far from the garage, where a truck engine was already being started. (In order to drown out the shots—note by V. S.)

"The first two persons were already gone. Their gear was piled up on the grass. Two shots sounded and were obtusely absorbed by the brick wall... Strange work went on behind the semi-opened gates of the garage...

"In the light of a weak electric bulb, Naum Besstrashnyy stood on the flower bed of petunias and wild orchids not far from a pile of clothing removed, his foot in a kid boot set aside, and imagined himself asserting the world revolution with fire and sword..."

However, at this time Naum Besstrashnyy [the Fearless] had a vision, a prophetic dream of sorts superimposed on reality. He sort of sped by "...the black sculpture and the bowl of the Italian fountain on Lubyanka Square and understood that no force in the world could save him now, and he knelt in front of the people he did not know who already had weapons in their hands. He grabbed them by the hands reeking of gun oil (what about his nickname—Fearless?—note by V. S.), he kissed their boots polished thoroughly with a shoeshine with his wide-open drivelling mouth.

"It was no use, because he was caught red-handed at the border with a letter he was taking from Trotsky in exile to Radek... He was pushed into the basement with his face to the brick wall. Red dust spilled, and he ceased to exist..."

One experiences many different feelings upon reading these lines. Firstly, the difference is striking between the behavior at the time of the shooting of the beautiful young schoolgirl with her head raised proudly and her murderer licking boots with his drivelling mouth. In this specific case, even a feeling akin to retribution may stir. However, I would like to draw our attention to something else. Don't we hear something familiar in the charge brought against the young schoolgirl: "Polish-English conspiracy aimed at capturing Odessa and giving it to great Poland 'stretching from sea to sea'"? Is this not the same nonsense as the charges of the 1930s when Soviet army, corps and brigade commanders turned out to be either Japanese spies or conspirators aiming to capture, eliminate or destroy? The wording of the early 1920s and that of the mid-1930s turn out to be astonishingly similar.



Now let us return to "Memorial." After all, whether we like it or not, the memorial erected will commemorate in one of its pebbles N. Besstrashnyy, because he was shot in the 1930s, under Stalin. However, in the memorial there will be not a shadow of remembrance for the beautiful schoolgirl shot by N. Besstrashnyy. At issue is not Vengrzhankovskaya alone, there were many like her. As N. Ya. Mandelshtam has written correctly, people were removed by strata, by categories. What about the memory of those whose blood seeped down the gutter? What about the memory of those whose blood was washed off by flushing the toilet? What about the memory of those whose blood the dogs licked in Mirgorod? Let us not forget that executions by firing squads without a trial, administrative executions, as Korolenko called them, took place in all cities of the huge state without exceptions.

What about the victims of 1929 when peasants who were not guilty of anything were tossed out into the tundra to starve and to freeze to death? What about 10 million victims of 1933 when in the Ukraine, Kuban and along the Volga parents ate their children, because a famine was organized there?

The new memorial is planned to be tied to the so-called house on the embankment. However, what geographical point could a memorial be tied to if we want to erect it in the memory of the martyrs of the Ukraine, Kuban and the Volga area, Siberia and the Russian North, cattlemen

of Kazakhstan and Kirghizia, garden growers of Tajikistan, Uzbek toilers, Caucasian nations, Belorussians, peasants of the Russian heartland?.. Such a memorial cannot be tied to any geographical point, any "house on the embankment." All of our land is one single memorial to them. Will we bashfully fall silent at the mention of the illegal and brutalextermination of the family of the tsar: four girls, a boy and women? Will we try to forget the decree "on the de-cossackization of Russia" which instructed Special Service Units to exterminate the Cossacks one and all, including children and women, and which decree took a toll of more than a million Cossacks? There are data that Russia had 360,000 members of the clergy before the revolution, and by the end of 1919 40,000 remained. Should we forget about it? Or should we pretend that nothing like this has ever happened? Or should we erect a separate memorial in each of these cases?

I did not sign the "Memorial" letter then not because I consider the victims of Stalin's repressions to be unworthy of commemoration, but because by commemorating them we forever bury in oblivion all other victims. The latter are hundreds and thousands of times more numerous and bloody. What do we proceed from in creating the memorial? Is it the quality of victims, so to say? Is it just and, I venture, is it moral?

#### Footnotes

1. It became known later that A. Solzhenitsyn did not agree to serve on this committee (editor's note).

**'Epidemic' Children's Illness Reported in Vinnitsa**  
*18000453 Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian*  
24 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by V. Palamarchuk: "The Bell Was Heard"]

[Text] In Vinnitsa people are now saying that things are no better here than they are in Chernovtsy—the children are growing bald. And the blame for this is being placed on the radio equipment plant's new shop for producing ferromagnetic powder.

The epidemic of rumors is infecting more and more people, and the lack of information can be compared with the lack of a vaccine. Each time the telephone rings in the correspondence point there is news of another cock and bull story. Therefore we went to the people whose job it is to give a serious response regarding the alarm of the Vinnitsa residents. The acting head pediatrician of the oblast, N. V. Dovgopolyuk, says that in the oblast preschool children's home there are nine children who have manifested one or another degree of baldness. On three of the children the hair is already growing back, on another three it has stopped falling out, and on three others it is continuing to fall out.

The physician at the preschool children's home, N. S. Sotskaya, showed us the children about whom they were speaking. The heads of six of them did not appear to be any different from the heads of other children their age. Only with a close examination was it possible to see a bald spot the size of a penny, but on Marina S., Olya K., and Liza K. one could see a considerable thinning of the hair.

"With all of our children the picture of the disease was considerably different from what it was in Chernovtsy," says the physician of the children's home. The same conclusion was reached by the head of the department of dermatology of the Kiev State Institute for the Improvement of Physicians, Prof. L. D. Kalyuzhnaya, and a professor at the Kiev Scientific Research Institute of Pediatrics, Obstetrics, and Gynecology, A. F. Mazalevskiy. They and the local specialists are inclined to think that the children have a disturbance of the metabolic processes. In addition to all of this one must take into account that they have a serious hereditary problem and there are anomalies of the endocrine system and psychological apparatus and retardation of physical development. The parents of Marina, Olya, and Liza are chronic alcoholics. It cannot be ruled out that they used especially toxic substitutes. We do not know yet when the changes in the metabolic processes took place. And therefore a broad spectrum of examination is indicated. But even now it is clear that one can completely rule out the presence of heavy metals in the organisms as was the case in Chernovtsy. The children were prescribed treatment and intensive, vitamin enriched nutrition. And

there have already been results. Viki Ye., for example, had no less balding than Marina S., but now almost none is visible. I think that the other children will also get better soon.

And now let us return to the shop for ferromagnetic powders and see if it could have caused the illnesses about which there have been so many rumors.

Here is the answer of the deputy chairman of the ispolkom of the Vinnitsa City Soviet of People's Deputies, A. A. Kucherin:

"Not only the editorial offices, but also party and soviet agencies are receiving collective letters with the demand to halt work on the construction of the aforementioned production. It must be clarified that the ferromagnetic powder plant will be producing products for high-quality magnetic films for daily use, and our country is experiencing a significant shortage of these. The construction work has already been completed without the assembly of the equipment. According to a conclusion of the sanitary and epidemiological services, this production is ecologically harmless. But, sharing the people's alarm, the ispolkom of the city soviet has asked the USSR Ministry of Public Health and State Committee for Hydrometeorology to conduct additional investigations. Only upon receipt of confirmation of the complete ecological safety of the production will permission be given for the installation of the technological lines.

I visited the site of the future shop. I saw no powder there because there could be none. After all, the equipment has not even been installed; only the walls are standing.

That is all. But in order for people not to operate according to the principle of hearing the bell but not knowing where it is, it would not hurt for the scientists, say, of the Vinnitsa Polytechnical Institute and medical experts to make more extensive use of the mass media and the audience of workers to explain and at the same time dispel various rumors that are growing into cock and bull stories.

## **Worldwide Day in Fight Against AIDS**

### **Conference Discusses Deportations**

*18300229 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA*  
*in Russian 1 Dec 88 p 3*

[Article by special correspondent A. Kolesnikov, from Novorossiysk: "AIDS Is Not Napping" under the "Timely Subjects" rubric; first paragraph is a boldface, capitalized introductory subheading]

[Text] The Working Conference of the USSR Ministry of Health took place in the city of Novorossiysk not long before December 1, which had been declared the Worldwide Day in Fight against AIDS.

The reason why the conference took place in Novorossiysk is clear. This city of 230,000 situated at the confluence of two worlds is full of Soviet and foreign visitors. It offers a kind of testing ground to sort out practically every hypothesis on the penetration and spread of the infection. Moreover, the nation's first testing labs was set up here, where all existing testing methods have been mastered, over 100,000 tests have been performed and 6 candidates of science are at work. Finally, the local police is quite experienced.

The conference's participants—among them there were specialists in communicable diseases, epidemiologists, specialists in virus-transmitted diseases, immunologists and representatives of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, Prosecutor's Office and Ministry of Internal Affairs—refused to harbor any illusions: the discussion was utterly frank and practical. No one was surprised that so many different agencies were represented: AIDS has long stopped being a purely medical problem.

Most of our knowledge about AIDS has been gained from newspapers and magazines. There are plenty of articles, all surprisingly similar not only in the information they provide but in the common overtones of fear.

Indeed, data on AIDS goes out of date very quickly. For instance, one report cited the number of infected Soviet citizens, 83, which is known to everyone. Yet, only half an hour later, the report by scientist Vadim Pokrovskiy updated this number to 92.

It was confirmed that the disease has spread beyond the original risk group and may have penetrated into other groups, such as students sharing dormitories with foreigners, Soviet specialists working abroad, doctors, blood transfusion recipients and military personnel. It is time to drop the illusion that the disease is concentrated among the drag of the society. The chain started by the first infected Soviet citizen included people who did not belong to the risk group. As a result, additional difficulties arise in the task of diagnosing and monitoring the epidemic.

Upon the whole, our system is considered quite efficient—this has been noted even by foreign specialists. Labs equipped to test blood samples for the AIDS virus have become indispensable; we have 380 of them already and there will be over 1,000 by the end of the year.

Today, 40 test methods exist for different communicable diseases. Yet, only 4 or 5 of them can be used commercially. The test system is a complex procedure comprised of a dozen components; it involves a subtle immunochemical reaction. Yet, our specialists clearly lack the skills to produce it on a commercial scale. For instance, the output of the "Vektor" research and production complex failed inspection and production plans worth millions of rubles were transferred to another enterprise, "Antigen",

whose production capacities are not infinite. False positives are common, so that blood samples from Siberia, Vladivostok, Tashkent and Tbilisi have to be flown to Moscow, to the central lab.

The quality of testing depends also on the quality of work of the technician performing the immunological test. No AIDS testing technicians have ever been formally trained. The sad state of special AIDS training was described by V. Prigozhin and G. Makarenko from Leningrad, a city where the institute for continued medical studies trains personnel to work with AIDS, where a committee on AIDS and AIDS-related infections has been set up and where the first Soviet citizen died of AIDS last September. Apparently, the clinical progression of the disease in that case could have been recognized even in an underdeveloped country; here, however, the first live encounter with AIDS ended just as it did. A criminal investigation into criminal negligence has begun, reported prosecutor V. Chistyakov of the Investigations Department of the USSR Prosecutor's Office.

Audience reaction to this announcement was protest and surprise. How could the doctors be accused of insufficient attention; how could they be required to follow established procedures if no one had ever encountered this situation before? Well, the doctors were not the only ones for whom it was the first encounter.

I. Batalin, department head of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs' Chief Administration of Criminal Investigations, reported that his agency, faced with this danger, decided to compile lists of people belonging to the risk group. The count reached into tens of thousands.

Wait a minute. What kind of lists are these? Who put them together, a district cop? And who alerted him, a neighbor perhaps? This way, anyone's name could get into the computer on mere suspicion and then there would be no way to prove that one does not belong to that group.

Here is an example recounted by a representative of the UkSSR Ministry of Health O. Shulga. A Soviet citizen, deported (imagine!) from an African country for easy virtue, calmly crossed the border and returned to her native Kherson. Diagnosed as a virus carrier, she received the necessary information and signed an acknowledgment that she was notified of criminal responsibility for spreading the virus, as required by the Act of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet dated August 25, 1987, "On Measures to Prevent the Spread of the AIDS Virus Infection". The lady, however, did not change her lifestyle and seven of her contacts were reported. The case was passed on to the courts and she went into hiding. Captured at last, she denied signing the acknowledgment, claiming that the doctors forged her signature. The case has now been dragging on for 15 months, with the court time and again postponing the hearing.

You see, the problem has already reached the courts. Yet, we still lack adequate experience. What article of the criminal code should be used to issue a wanted person warrant for women who flee prosecution? Could the wife be tried for infecting her husband? What to do with a blood donor who did not know that he was infected? These questions tested, in addition to everything else, our justice system as well. It turned out that many atypical, in the medical parlance, cases lack legal grounds.

Thus, whether you like what the Ministry of Internal Affairs is doing or not, it has started to work on the problem and sees it its own way. It does not idealize the risk group; it knows that its characteristics are covertness, a migratory way of life, ties to the underworld and aggressive behavior. Preaching and posters will not accomplish much. How can V. Dolgov, for instance, do without their help? As the head of the Krasnodar Kray Health Department, he is in charge of a region where the first AIDS victim in the USSR was diagnosed and where 12 million visitors come each year—and not all of them spend their time playing chess or reading.

Many issues were discussed in Novorossiysk, such as the question of deporting infected foreigners (which is a very difficult problem), their ability to return freely to our country 6 months later (?), the need to review test lab staffing requirements, the situation at student dormitories, our miserable health education, the possibility of the clergy joining the campaign for a healthy way of life, inadequate information, the need to test pregnant women, introduce special health certificates in conjunction with various other countries and learn safe sex methods.

Work is under way. Scientists are working on the problem and seeking solutions. The problem is not being neglected. The spread of the disease remains, upon the whole, under control. Yet, we must help the doctors, and do so with our own behavior. Sooner or later, AIDS will force everyone to change their lifestyle: the peak of the epidemic is forecast for the early 1990s. Dr. Pokrovskiy's slides are frightening, but our usual Russian roulette attitude is more frightening still.

#### **AIDS Situation in Uzbekistan**

18300229 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
4 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by M. Rizaev, Director, Local Section of the USSR Ministry of Health's Immunology Institute, and V. Pulatov, Director, Republic AIDS Diagnostic Center: "To Deflect Disaster" first paragraph is a boldface, capitalized introductory subheading]

[Text] By the decision of the World Health Organization, the Worldwide Day in Fight against AIDS was held on December 1.

The word AIDS is like a tolling bell calling on humanity to think about serious social problems. Amoral and license are causing a rapid spread of the disease over borders and distances.

We must discard the notion that AIDS is somewhere out there, far away. Dozens of virus carriers have been diagnosed in the Soviet Union, and the work has only begun. We have sad experience of our own. Twenty people contracted the virus from a single person, along the same chain. Two deaths have been registered, one in Leningrad and another in Odessa.

Seven carriers of the immune deficiency virus have been diagnosed in Tashkent, among foreign citizens who had come to study here. They have been deported to their own countries.

In a very short time period, a system of protection against the introduction of the disease into the republic has been created in Uzbekistan. The Republic AIDS Diagnostic Center has been set up and testing labs have opened in every oblast. Medical personnel has undergone special training. All foreign students and Soviet citizens returning from abroad are tested. The population is being tested intensively.

Over 100 seropositive cases have been identified in the republic. Yet, testing methods remain inadequate. The final verdict can be passed only in Moscow, with the help of imported testing equipment. There, only the foreigners' samples have been confirmed as seropositive among those taken in Uzbekistan. No virus carriers have been diagnosed among the republic's residents.

Yet, there are more than enough reasons to be alarmed.

Domestic industry does not produce enough disposable syringes and hypodermic needles, which are an effective means of preventing the spread of the virus. At general and vocational schools, health education is poorly organized, as is, in general, the teaching of healthy, moral patterns of sexual life. We still have only incomplete information on persons belonging to the risk group and no defined legal norms for combatting prostitution. Doctors encountering unclear medical symptoms often forget that an AIDS test is required in such cases.

Let us repeat the clinical symptoms of AIDS: prolonged high fever, multiple enlargement of lymph nodes, chronic and prolonged pneumonia and bronchitis and diarrhea that does not respond to treatment for a long time.

Those who receive frequent injections should use personal hypodermic needles and syringes. Treatment involving injections should not be administered outside medical institutions. At barber shops and beauty salons, you should not be embarrassed to check whether implements for shaving and manicure are properly sterilized.

Very few Tashkent residents use medical offices where they can get anonymous treatment. The AIDS Diagnostic Center is being moved from a remote medical town to Kirov Street, No.4. Here, patients can also be tested or get information about AIDS. The results of this work are being assessed scientifically by the local section of the USSR Ministry of Health's Immunology Institute.

We must purchase abroad high-quality AIDS testing equipment for the republic. The present multi-stage system of checking the results takes too long.

The ward equipped to handle AIDS cases at the Institute of Epidemiology, Microbiology and Communicable Diseases of the UzSSR Ministry of Health are currently empty. Yet, we must always keep the existing danger in mind.

### **Social Gains in Turkmenia Debated in Central Press**

#### **Perestroika 'On Paper Only'**

18300198 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA  
in Russian 1 Dec 88 p 6

[Article by Atadzhan Tagan, writer: "Verbal Retouch, Or What Prevents Restructuring in Turkmenia"]

[Text] Up to now the best buildings are built for the highest authorities, while many medical institutions of Ashkhabad are located in wretched shanties, built right away after the earthquake of 1948. On the bank of the Murgab, not far from the town of Mary, they erected a smart private residence for the guests of the obkom. For this, both building materials and manpower were found. But the Mary State Dramatic Theater imeni Kemine, one of leading ones in the republic, already for 18 years after a fire, is wandering through the clubs. About the 2500th anniversary of the city of Merv (once upon a time one of the centers of world civilization), they not only forgot, but they demolished the entire historical building of the city. In the history of Merv, this is the second destruction. The first "initiator" we know by name, it is Genghiz Khan. And here the present-day destroyers are working with a calm soul or are enjoying their "deserved rest," not having received even a formal reproof for their actions, which is what is usually used in our time to save leaders that have committed an offense.

Here is a completely fresh example from an official document: "To dismiss the deputy chairman of the Presidium of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet, the deputy M. G. Shmidt, from the post occupied by him for manifested lack of modesty." What does this mean? It turns out that only during 1987 alone he acquired goods in short supply valued at 55,300 rubles, "which significantly exceeds the total income of his family." Where does an honest party member, living only on his income, get so much money to purchase so many things in one year?! It is quite clear, both to us and to them, who "punishes" such people. And nevertheless, how does one

answer those who sincerely perplexed and are indignant? Why is theft called "lack of modesty", bribery—"use of official position"? With how much more such verbal camouflage will we retouch life, being concerned with making things look good? From all platforms, our leaders stand up for raising the level of education. The correct words. But as soon as the time comes for the weeding and harvesting of cotton, everything is at once forgotten. In the schools and VUZ's, the studies, as before, are conducted in accordance with an "accelerated program." If in the other regions of the country the academic year lasts 9 months, in Turkmenistan it lasts 4-5 months.

The cotton fever also inflicts moral losses. We are corrupting the young generation. The desire to earn money in cotton predominates over the desire to study in school even among the 5th graders. The young people have one dream: To save a little more, to buy a little more. Everything acquires a mercantile character. If 346 kolkhozes and 133 sovkhoses cannot turn out the planned quantity of cotton, one needs to think about changing the plan. Why shoulder a load which your shoulders cannot bear?

Because of the cotton monopoly, we have lost a great deal. In the rural locality, already nowhere cows are grazing—and the republic is now longer feeding itself. During the past 10-15 years people have forgotten their own improvement, they have neither the time, nor the strength to live like normal human beings. Boys and girls in unbearable intense heat, doubling up, from morning to late at night (yes, yes, 12-13 hours at a time!) gather cotton. In this way, girls who have not yet married, become cripples. And then their children either are brought into the world with physical defects, or they die not having lived a year. The heavy labor, mental and physical mutilation, extremely meager food—all of this leads to a terrible tragedy—cases of self-immolation of Turkmen girls and women, which until recently were concealed from public opinion.

As the medical workers indicate, pesticides in Turkmenia are applied to the extent of up to 64 kilograms per hectare (3 kilograms—for the country). In agriculture, on water-melons, long-prohibited toxic chemicals are being used to this day.

I turn to the arrogant words from one official document: "For every 10,000 people, there are: In Iran—1, Turkey—3, England and France—about 10, and in the United States—14 physicians. In our sunny Turkmenistan, for every 10,000 people there are 21 physicians." Look, what an accomplishment! Who all did not repeat this information. But this is what is interesting: The highest authorities, alas, do not trust the doctors of the "sunny republic" and, if anything happens, they prefer to be treated in Moscow or they call a consultant from the USSR Ministry of Health.

Yes, on paper we can compete even with the United States, and with France. But up to now they have preferred to keep silent about the fact that, in terms of infant mortality we occupy fourth place in the world, until Academician Ye. Chazov told about this in public.

And how we have gotten used to parade titles! I remember the figures from the speeches by heart: In the republic there are 12 national writers, 36 national and 80 distinguished artists and laureates of all prizes, and there is no counting at all. However, the well-known artist I. Klychev and the movie producer Kh. Narliyev were not awarded a high title, until they received the State Prize of the USSR.

Yes, we are suffering from lack of modesty, boasting, and loud words. In the pages of the republic newspapers and journals, such magnificent epithets as "caravan-soldier," "singer of the friendship of peoples," "Schiller of our time," and "Turkmen Aytmатов" are being added to the names of many literary figures. But from the fact that we honor our writers so highly with rites and songs, our literature does not become weighty and significant. Sometimes it is asked why Turkmen literature does not advance to the all-union arena? Yes, entirely because boasting and self-satisfaction do not give us the possibility to assess its state realistically. The elevation, the overestimation of talent—these are the basic viruses of the chronic illness of Turkmen literature.

Even if there are no special reasons to boast, we all the same invent achievements where there is not even a shadow, a hint of them. Let us take, for example, the resettlement of Turkmen in Amur Oblast. You see, in the republic there is a surplus of manpower. For this reason, they say, by resettling a certain part of the people we solve two problems: We free ourselves of excess working hands and we extend international assistance to our sister Russia.

But if there were a surplus of manpower in our republic, do you think that people from other regions would come to our republic? And would they really start to drive workers, employees, students and school children to the cotton harvest? If we had a surplus of manpower, would we start to send Turkmen cotton for processing miles and miles away? And could the Turkmen women and girls who resettled in Amur Oblast not learn to work on looms? It is simpler to get rid of them than to rack one's brain over all this. Moreover, how advantageous to look like internationalists. . . .

But the situation turns out as follows. Already information has started to arrive about the life of the Turkmen families in the Amur land, about the problems of national schools, and the difficult acclimatization in the severe Siberian climate. Life confirms that our practice of "resettlement" proved to be far-fetched, ineffective, and in the final analysis hardly needed by anyone. I will not be surprised if anyone from among the "Singers of Friendship", having read this article, will accuse me

there and then of "narrow political thinking." That kind of thing happens in our republic. And for this reason I decided to turn to the expression of a competent scientist, doctor of geography, N. Glazovskiy. This is what he says apropos of this: "... The variant of the resettlement of part of the population of Central Asia. . . is notoriously worthless and harmful for economic, social, ethnic, and natural considerations. . . ." During the past year, under the noisy slogan of Days of Turkmenistan in Amur Oblast, a large group of Turkmen writers and artists went there for a meeting with their fellow-countrymen. The enormous expenditures borne as a result of this trip and the lost time, we, of course, we charged to friendship and brotherhood. One of the writers, who had travelled to Amur Oblast, acknowledged that the scientist, who appeared in NOVYY MIR, sagaciously predicted everything. But we all the time continue to deceive ourselves.

In the vicinity of Ashkhabad, there is the Sovet Turkmenistany Kolkhoz. It is something one has to see. Beginning with the chairman, a Hero of Socialist Labor, and ending with a simple farmer, everything in this kolkhoz differs from the others. And it should differ. Here are clean streets, a bath-house, as in a town, a water-main, a stadium, a picture gallery, a fashionable club, and a kindergarten, in which children are kept with unexamined cleanliness, one can say, sterile children. In general, there are no words to sing all the delights of this farm. Naturally, the quintals of agricultural produce, too, are higher there than in the others. But we nevertheless know that all these successes are hollow ones. Because this "exemplary kolkhoz" is maintained specially for the purpose of showing it to guests. Here, respected guests, look how we are prospering. Well, with foreigners, this is understandable, but, you see, they also bring secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee to this "artificial kolkhoz." Whom are we deceiving?!

During the past 15 years, up to now unprecedented phenomena have appeared in Turkmenistan: Thefts in villages, which previously never happened. The pursuit of rich eligible bachelors has become fashionable. Closed houses of prostitution are appearing, there has also been an increase in the frequency of the cases where women 3-4 times a year get married and every time share the property of the former husband. Is this not indicative of the fact that irreversible losses are taking place in spiritual and moral life?

Why has such a thing become possible? Because ideology in the republic is inactive. The criticism that appears in the speeches of the leaders plays the role of a lightning-rod and serves only as a veil. But serious criticism is condemned. I will cite the following example. Not long ago, the newspaper TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA published an interview with the writer T. Dzhumageldyyev, who objectively talked about the shortcomings existing in the sphere of ideology, suggesting ways of eliminating them. It would seem that creative people should be welcomed for such candid expressions in the pages of the

press. But his is what a journalist of the republic newspaper wrote to me apropos of this: "You, most likely, read in our newspaper the interview with T. Dzhumageldyyev. What happened further? Immediately after the appearance of the newspaper, Kh. Durdyev, the secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee himself, came to the editors. He called the author of the interview and the staff members of the adjacent editors and put all of us through such a purgatory that it was a shame for a man occupying such a high post in our time, during the period of glasnost and candidness."

Or let us take the following example. The posts (positions) of kolkhoz deputy chairmen for culture have been created in the republic. It is clear that in the beginning the goal was a good one. However, these deputies, as a rule women, have been transformed into waitresses and organizers of banquets for high guests in kolkhoz hotels. These lady deputies graphically demonstrated how one can live well without doing anything.

And if we had tried the least bit to fight against bride-money, would it have acquired such a scope today? But, you see, bride-money is one of the factors of moral corruption. How many fine fellows are compelled to live with a woman they do not love in order for these 25,000-30,000 not to be lost, which were earned by the whole family and paid as bride-money! No serious battle of any kind is being conducted against this, besides empty campaigns on paper.

But on the other hand, we are sometimes in an extreme manner tributaries to the measures. We are "fighting" Islam in such a way that it is ridiculous and a shame. For example, in the republic newspapers it is categorically prohibited to use the words "tanry yakasyn" (thank you) and "khudaya shukur" (thank God), because these expressions contain the word "God". Once the poet and communist N. Gullayev almost ended up in prison because in one of his poems he said: "Marx is my God."

One more example. In 1966 a Turkmen prose writer wrote the historical novel "The Fortress Serakhs." The novel was already ready for publication, when by order "from above" the entire composed type was scattered. The director of the institution in which the author worked received a letter over the signature of the then secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, Ch. Atayev: "We did not publish the novel of your politically immature employee." It turns out that the "politically immature" author dared talk about the fact that even before the revolution the Turkmen had patriots who were devoted to their people. The political mistake of the author consisted in the fact that he should not have talked about those positive aspects of life that existed before 1917. The novel appeared in the Turkmen language 20 years after it had been published twice: in Russian and in Bulgarian.

When the matter comes to politics, extremely "vigilant" leaders "edit" novels, films, and plays, inflicting on creative workers undeserved injuries and non-healing wounds, inflicting losses to art itself. And, you see, no measures of any kind are applied to them. Because if they pad the reports on cotton, this is visible if only on the scales, but the distortions in culture and ideology you do not measure with any scales, by any tons. In the ideological sphere, the leading chairs must be occupied by people who are full of initiative and creatively gifted, genuine fighters for restructuring. There must not be people in these posts who are sooner concerned with the problems of their friends and comrades, small groupings, and the support of people close to themselves. Is this not where the endless praises come from? It is, indeed, more pleasant to occupy oneself with this than to speak and hear the truth.

**'Accusations Undeserved,' Replies Correspondent**  
18300198 Moscow *SOVETSKAYA KULTURA* in  
Russian 15 Dec 88 p 3

[Letter by M. Meleshenko, *SOVETSKAYA KULTURA*'s own correspondent in Ashkhabad: "Letter to the Writer Atadzhan Tagan, Or Some Thoughts on What I Have Read in the Newspaper and What I Have Seen on the Spot"]

[Text] With great attention I read in the issue of *SOVETSKAYA KULTURA* for 1 December your article "Verbal Retouch, Or What Prevents Restructuring in Turkmenistan." I share your pain and concern about the negative manifestations that are impeding restructuring in the republic and which prevent the process of improvement in all spheres of its spiritual and economic life. Probably, the angry tone and the impulsiveness of your statement are justified. But then, can one write about the bad without anger? Can an artist, a journalist, living with the concerns and fears of his people, really calmly grasp the fact that, for example, a significant part of the population of Ashkhabad for many years has been huddling in wretched temporary structures? That back-breaking toil and an oppressed position in the family to cases of self-immolation of women that are intolerable for a civilized society. That the pursuit of high production volume indicators and monetary profits in the agricultural sector in essence turn into the scandalous neglect of the health of people—we are talking about the massive application, in the republic's fields, of toxic chemicals prohibited from use. And what burning feeling of shame and pain seizes the soul when you find out that your land is among the "leaders" in terms of infant mortality? And, of course, with your whole heart you protest against the notorious "cotton slavery", which has crushed beneath it many of the most important problems of social and cultural development of the republics of the region for long decades. . . .

It is true, Atadzhan, only during the last years have we begun to speak openly about these serious anomalies. Too long and cowardly was our silence about that which

it is criminal to be silent about. But restructuring was begun in our country precisely in order for these disgraceful phenomena not to exist.

I agree with you that restructuring in Turkmenistan is proceeding much more slowly than one would wish. But it should be noted that some of your conclusions and the "facts" you report suggest the idea that you either have not been in the republic for a long time and that, therefore, you are operating on the basis of pre-restructuring information, or too subjectively, not to say—in a prejudiced manner, perceiving what is happening in your homeland. Many people in the republic I have had the occasion to talk these days have the impression that your article is at least about 3 years late. . . .

There you write: "In the pages of the republic newspapers and journals, such magnificent epithets as "caravan-soldier," "singer of the friendship of peoples," "Schiller of our time," and "Turkmen Aytmatov" are being added to the names of many literary figures." Such glorifications were, indeed, heard not so long ago. But today these accusations of yours addressed to the republic press are, in my view, as much undeserved as the epithets cited by you. The assessments of the creative work of your colleagues wielding the pen, including the most eminent, are nowadays far more restrained than during the pre-April years. Read if only the article "Perspective—In the Synthesis of Traditions" of the writer Akmurat Shirov, published on 12 October of this year in *TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA*. It gives a pointed and principled assessment of the state of affairs in Turkmen literature. And those kinds of publications are becoming increasingly more frequent—with all the displeasure, naturally, of those who in their time were included among the Schillers.

Any conclusion becomes convincing when it is reinforced with concrete examples. You write: "Up to now, the best buildings are built for the high authorities. . . ." Which buildings, precisely, do you have in mind and precisely which authorities? Perhaps, the really stylish building of the Tashauz Obkom? So it has now been handed over to a hospital. As far as the private residence for guests of the Mary Party Obkom is concerned, it was erected a quarter of a century ago. . . .

"About the 2500th anniversary of the city of Merv," you write, "they not only forgot, but they demolished the entire historical building. In the history of Merv, this is the second destruction. The first "initiator" we by name—this is Genghiz Khan. And here the present-day destroyers are working with a calm soul or are enjoying their "deserved rest" . . . ." It is interesting, who forgot about the anniversary, who demolished, and which "present-day destroyers" he has in mind. It is easiest to name Genghiz Khan. And again the time accents are dislocated: The anniversary—lies ahead, the destruction occurred many years ago, and now restoration work is under way in the zone of the historical building of Merv. For some reason you are silent about this.

Still another analogousness surprised in your article. I read: "How many fine fellows are compelled to live with a woman they do not love in order for these 25,000-30,000, which were earned by the whole family and paid as bride-money!" Pay attention: fine fellows and unloved woman. Again a dislocation of the accent—only already not in time, but on the social and moral plane. You see, it is generally known, even to a person who has never lived in Central Asia, that bride-money, above all, strikes at the interests of the girl, for whom the parents of the bride-groom (by the way, by far not always loved) contribute the corresponding sum. And to argue about who in this situation falls into the greatest dependence, at the very least, is naive. It is clear—who. . . . It is sufficient to remember who inflicts self-immolation. . . .

Your bitterness and alarm are understandable when you write about the fact that closed "public houses are appearing in Turkmenia." But here when you report that there has been an increase in the frequency of "cases when a woman marries 3-4 times a year, and every time shares the property of her former husband." I do not know whether you are joking this time, or whether they made a bad joke of you, having supplied you with such fantastic information. In your article, you repeatedly in gloomy colors sketch precisely "the last 15 years." Excuse me, in comparison with what period are these years gloomier? Certainly, not in contrast with the 1930's-1930's? Or do you have serious data on a life of the republic's population in the 1950's-1960's that was more organized than it is now? If one is to understand you simply, then the notorious 15 years of stagnation, corruption and the decline of morals also includes the years after April 1985. And there was not anything like a change of leadership, and the fresh wind of change, as it were, passed our hot territory by?

But here you touch on a question that is really painful for the creative intelligentsia of the republic—the question of recognition. It is no secret, many talented artists (not only in Turkmenistan, but in other republics, too) received their due at home only after the appropriate assessment in Moscow. You write: "However, the well-known artist I. Klychev and film producer Kh. Narliyev were not awarded a high title until they had received the State Prize of the USSR."

True, the path of these masters to recognition in the republic was not covered with roses. But, you see, the first of them is now a Hero of Socialist Labor, and the second heads the Union of Cinematographers of the republic. Ask them how the work has been going for them during the last years, what enormous possibilities to create in accordance with their strength and talent our restructuring has given to them, as well as to other master. How can one equate the years endured by us during the Brezhnev-Gapurov period of social stagnation with today?

You certainly pursued a noble goal when working on these notes. Your judgments, basically, are sincere. Although many of them, unfortunately, have a one-sided



character. There you call the progressive farm, headed by a Hero of Socialist Labor, "artificial", its successes "hollow", without citing, in so doing, any evidence. But all right, the chairman—he is really a Hero, it is possible, he endures these, let us put it directly, scathing assessments. But it is interesting how did the ordinary kolkhoz farmers perceive the assessment, by the respected writer, of the fruits of their work (honest, hard work)? Incidentally, numerous audits and inspections in the Soviet Turkmenistany Kolkhoz did not expose padded reports, which, as is well known, had encompassed almost the entire infrastructure of the cotton industry of the republic. People are working, and rather well. Why offend them in passing?

And your discourses on a certain "resettlement of Turkmen in Amur Oblast" look quite strange, not to say cutting. You are a writer, and, of course, you should have a keen feeling for the word which you present to the reader. But you write with sarcasm: "You see, in the republic there is a surplus of manpower. For this reason, they say, by resettling a certain part of the people we solve two problems: We free ourselves of excess working hands and we extend international assistance to our sister Russia. . . ." Further, you assert that there is no surplus of working hands in the republic, but nevertheless someone (who?) prefers to "get rid of them" in order to look like internationalists. But you see, having read such a thing, your countrymen, who voluntarily moved to that same Amur Oblast, may also be outraged. They are what, citizens without rights, who by someone's ill will can be taken just like that and resettled? As far as international assistance is concerned, let us be frank: In this case it is still unknown who is helping whom?

However, I have been living in Turkmenia recently, and you for a long time in Moscow, and, of course, although our points of view on this problem differ from yours diametrically, they do not necessarily represent the ultimate truth. I repeat only: It is for people themselves to decide where they will live and where they will go.

A writer, as is well known, has the right to literary fantasy. But only not in journalism, respected Atadzhan. But you, reporting that in republic newspapers it is categorically prohibited to utilize an expression with the word "God", cite the following example: "Once the poet and communist N. Gullayev almost ended up in prison because in one of his poems he said: 'Marx is my God.'" But this is what Nazar Gullayev himself said about this: "As a matter of fact, sometime at the beginning of the 1960's they criticized me for the mentioned line. But in order to be thrown into prison. . . . There was not even punishment along the party line."

Well, thank God, as they say, and, by the way, write. . .

And once again about a sense of the time and a sense of measure. In your article you tried to tell about what prevents restructuring in Turkmenistan. And you cite

the following example: "In 1966, a Turkmen prose writer wrote the historical novel 'The Fortress Serakhs.' The novel was already for publication when, by order 'from above,' the entire composed type was scattered." Why, that did happen. But is it fair to blame today for the facts of yesterday? But you, in your conclusions, resort to verbs in the present tense: "... extremely vigilant leaders 'edit' novels, films, and plays. . . . And, you see, no measures of any kind are applied to them." But the novel in question appeared in the Turkmen language, and appeared after April 1985. Is this not proof of changes for the better in the republic? Another thing is not understandable: Why do you speak of the author of the historical novel in the third person? Indeed, "The Fortress Serakhs" is a product of your pen. . . ."

And the last thing. If one is to judge by your conceptions and conclusions, in Turkmenistan it is now 1984, in the best of cases, the first half of 1985. But what must be done in order nevertheless to get out of the stagnation and to move forward? I searched for an answer to this question in your article. And, alas, I did not find it. Unless it be the following: "In the ideological sphere the leading chairs must be occupied by people who are full of initiative and creatively gifted, genuine fighters for restructuring."

Allow me to object here as well: Fighters for restructuring, including leaders, should not "occupy chairs," but work. Perhaps you know people who are capable to get work done efficiently, energetically and competently in the ideological sphere? If so, tear yourself away from your Moscow cares, fly to your native places, and help speed up restructuring. Respectfully,  
M. Meleshenko  
(Our own correspondent) Ashkhabad

#### **Society's Dim View of Militia Examined**

*18120045 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 50, 18-25 Dec 88 p 11*

[Interview with Inga Mikhailovskaya, LLD, professor of the theory and sociology of management at the Academy of USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Elek Pakhomov, militia colonel, deputy chief of the Internal Affairs Administration of the Tyumen Regional Soviet Executive Committee, as recorded by Ilya Vais; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Pakhomov] If I say that society's best people are now in the militia, you'll only laugh. But in fact we are sent the best of the best—we issue appeals through the Komsomol and the best work collectives recommend the best workers. So what's the matter? It's time we realized that there aren't any stable and serious criteria for choosing militiamen. Often, a candidate's outward appearance, his looks and bearing, has a lot to do with whether or not he is chosen.

[Mikhailovskaya] The problem is even more complicated when you consider that you can hire an honest person for the militia, and six months later this person is, to your amazement, entirely changed. A man's real nature becomes evident only when he has the power, and he has the power only when he's already been hired.

[MOSCOW NEWS] So what's the solution?

[Mikhailovskaya] Some put a lot of hope in psychological testing. But there are as yet no reliable tests for many psychological features. Because a personality is a complex of features where conscience plays the determining role. How are we to measure conscience? I think we should introduce a mandatory trial period during which recruits would be supervised by experienced colleagues.

[MOSCOW NEWS] We've often hear that the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs are so regulated by laws and instructions that a person's moral qualities don't play much of a role. Is that so?

[Pakhomov] Absolutely not. Only a fraction of the militia's activities can be regimentated, the rest require the militiaman to make a choice. The more democratization (i.e., the more variety) there is, the more variations will be possible (and inevitable!).

[MOSCOW NEWS] A "candidate militiaman"—this presupposes an entrance exam to join the militia. So we're not talking about today?

[Mikhailovskaya] The militia's prestige has suffered and so has the quality of the people the militia attracts. One reason is the poor system of assessing militiamen's work. One has to be highly resistant and even courageous, not to allow abuses in the existing conditions, say, not to hide some of the crimes. The opinion that has taken shape—that the militia are responsible for the level of crime—is to blame for that.

[MOSCOW NEWS] Isn't it?

[Mikhailovskaya] The more crimes the militia register, the worse the militia look. The militia are responsible for the "crimes-solved percentage". The norm is 92-95 per cent. And the militia units have to "make" it. But 92-905 per cent is an absolutely unrealistic figure! It would mean that we're working two or three times better than any police force abroad. How on earth could we be so effective? Our technical equipment is bad and there are lots of rookies on the force.

[Pakhomov] The conditions in which the militiaman works force him to wave aside information on a crime, not to register it, or as we say, not "to hang it on himself". The reason is simple: if crime increases somewhere, all the thunder, lightning and organizational conclusions will hit militia leaders in that region. This forces the militia to hide the real state of affairs.

[Mikhailovskaya] By the way, in the U.S. the policemen are interested in registering as many crimes as possible—then they'll get more money from the city authorities. U.S. criminologists don't go by the FBI reports, they do their own research.

Sometimes the imperfectness of the law forces militiamen to do things people don't like. For example, the militia must check up on the "passport regime". The militiaman must enter a home and find out who lives there, where the residents come from, on what grounds they are staying there, whether they're settled permanently or are just staying overnight. Yet doesn't the Constitution proclaim the inviolability of the home?

We must make the constitutional provisions the main ones. Which means that the militia must observe people's rights. This is difficult. But it is high time we realized that society pays a much higher price for violating human rights than for honouring them. If we strictly abide by the law, some of the criminals may go unscathed, may evade punishment, but that's something we have to put up with.

[Pakhomov] When we solve a crime by violating the law, we damage our relations with the people. And people's bad attitudes toward the militia make it harder to solve crimes.

[Mikhailovskaya] Many may disagree, but we mustn't demand that the militia root out crime. They simply cannot do this. This is the task of the entire society and it must be accomplished mainly by social methods.

[MOSCOW NEWS] What is the militia's task?

[Mikhailovskaya] To apprehend lawbreakers, to return stolen property, to maintain order within the framework of the law, i.e., to fight crime with the help of society, not instead of it!

[Pakhomov] Not everyone understands this, including the local authorities. One recent example. The Tyumen Regional Soviet Executive Committee made the militia responsible for not letting foodstuffs out of the region, so as to combat black marketeering. You could take out a few products but it was forbidden to take out anything "above the norm". We had to organize special checkups at railway stations and airports, i.e., to "take measures". But isn't that a violation of the law?

[MOSCOW NEWS] What can one do when one has to fulfill a bad instruction, directive or law?

[Mikhailovskaya] One must full the faulty law but use any opportunity to soften its negative consequences. At the same time, one must press the legislator to change the law. Scientists can do a lot here, so can journalists and ordinary citizens. By the way, a draft law on the militia is being prepared, but so far the general public has had no input.

[MOSCOW NEWS] The decree on demonstrations and meetings is now hurting society-militia relations. Complaints about the Internal Affairs organs have already appeared in the press.

[Pakhomov] In Tyumen I'm the man responsible for enforcing order during mass demonstrations. It is our job to prevent people from getting hurt because of hooligans, provocateurs or someone's carelessness. Mothers with children and old people might be in the crowd, and mob rule is terrible. But when we act, it is hard for outsiders to understand why. Concern for order? Or dissatisfaction with the demonstration? Again we provoke anger because only the result can be seen: people are led away and not allowed to pass here or there.

[Mikhailovskaya] A poor law can add fuel to the fire rather than put it out. We need a clear and exhaustive roster of grounds for bidding meetings; we must be able to register meetings rather than get "permission" for them. Society must understand that in these seeming "confrontations" it isn't the militia alone that are guilty, but also society. When we realize that, we'll move away from today's "antagonism".

[MOSCOW NEWS] But society's dissatisfaction with the militia does have some basis, doesn't it?

[Pakhomov] The claims are really mutual. We know our own inner evils. Alas, many of my colleagues are convinced that their profession has put them over the people. People for them are just the object of their activity and not its meaning.

[Mikhailovskaya] There is a dangerous opinion, widespread among militiamen, that the more people they put in prison, the more effective their service is. The more criminals they put behind barbed wire and the longer they're kept there, the happier life will be on this side of the wire. This is tragic, as they simply don't understand that these "cast-offs" are also people, a part of the people.

It's vital that the militia know how the public responds to their activities. Then the militia won't feel themselves in a state of siege. An obligatory special course on public opinion has now been introduced at the MIA Academy. And a new subject for us—Marxist-Leninist sociology—is being read there. Recently the Ministry did important sociological research on people's attitudes to the militia.

There is hope for mutual understanding.

## OGONEK Cotton Harvest Articles Elicit Sharp Uzbek Reaction

### Juvenile 'Cotton Slave' Depicted

18300204 Moscow OGONEK in Russian  
No 43, 22-29 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by Aleksandr Treplev: "Cotton Slave"]

[Text] Here is Damir. He is now picking cotton. I asked him to smile. He understood; however, he was not able to do so.

Every morning, all of the radio stations in the Soviet Union have reported that children will not work on cotton this year. Living in Moscow, it is probably possible to believe this.

After four hours in the air and another half hour in a vehicle, I and two Uzbek writers (witnesses!) are in the Srednechirchikskiy Rayon of Tashkent Oblast—30 kilometers from Tashkent.

They told me that it was early and that the mass harvesting had still not begun. However, I knew that children have always worked here and I was convinced that we would see them in the field. They had been in the field near Rashidov and Usmankhodzhayev and they had been there in April of this year—had anything really changed? (I have in mind agriculture in Central Asia.)

It is 15 September 1988—1430 hours. It is almost 40 degrees. An arch standing alone and unknown. Dozens of children appear from under it—each has an apron for picking cotton.

"Do you work daily?"

"No, each day."

Each day from 0900 to 1800. Last year, this continued two or two and a half months—they do not remember. This year? What is there to ask? When the cotton harvesting will come to an end—the work will come to an end. When the cotton harvesting will come to an end—studies will begin.

Here, they feed them. Here, they sleep.

"What did you eat today, Damir?"

"In the morning, butter, bread and tea. For lunch, pea soup and kasha.

"And for dinner?"

"We haven't had dinner yet."

"What did you have for dinner yesterday?"

"Macaroni."

"With a ground meat patty," adds someone next to us. Well, with a ground meat patty—that's not so bad. Although...it's fall, Tashkent—where are the fruits and vegetables?

On the roads, on the streets, on the buildings are multi-meter posters: a smiling man with handfuls of cotton. The adults smile, the children harvest the cotton. Perhaps, one of these should be removed: the posters from the streets or the children from the fields?

In another rayon, also not far from the Uzbek capital, I dropped into a school—a decrepit barracks from the Thirties. The heat was terrible. In the yard, the small children drank water from a faucet. A likable director sat in the office under Ilich's portrait and under Ilich's lamp. A poster with Politburo members and candidate members was on the wall. Three faces had been covered with paper. I turned back the paper—Kunayev, Yeltsin, Sokolov.

In the fourth grade, I wrote on the blackboard: "7 x 8=?" A boy volunteered the answer: 48. A girl from the tenth grade answered the very same question: "54."

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### Article Alleging Defoliant Use Scored

18300204 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
3 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by Yu. Kruzhilin, TASHKENT correspondent: "Glasnost—Misused?"]

[Text] [Tashkent, 31 October 88—Having waited for two weeks, I went for a second time to the medical epidemiological station of the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Health: "Well? Has someone responded?"

Yu. Izmaylov, manager of the medical department, replied: "Of course not. We did not expect ...."

Here is the background of the dialogue. During the summer, A. Minkin, the author of an article entitled "A Deadly Infection", while complaining about the use of harmful butifos defoliant, wrote in issue No 29 of OGONEK: "They banned butifos, but only after they had scattered on Uzbek lands all available stocks." [For a translation of this article, which in fact appeared in OGONEK No 13, see pages 35-40 of the JPRS series SOVIET UNION: POLITICAL AFFAIRS, JPRS-UPA-88-028, dated 27 July 1988.] On 24 September, he placed in the newspaper UZBEKISTON ADABIYATI VA SANATI (LITERATURA I ISKUSSTVO UZBEKISTANA) the lines: "My friend traveled from Tashkent to Termez over the Great Uzbek Highway.... He smelled the butifos.... I am a witness—you can call me that. I am a member of the party and am fully responsible for my words" Minkin, however, did not call a witness. In

return, the newspaper's editorial board added the following to his article: "The Aral-88 Expedition also talked about the use of butifos in Syr-Darya Oblast during a press conference in the Union of Uzbekistan Writers."

Knowing that the 4 March 1987 decree of the USSR chief state medical doctor had banned butifos, we then asked Yu. Izmaylov whether he had checked on the alarming newspaper message.

The answer was: "Absolutely. With a trip to the spot. Our people visited the warehouses where the summer before last—before the defoliation—the remainder of the butifos had been brought together, locked up and sealed. It was still there. In Syr-Darya Oblast, there were 386 tons and 116 kilograms. All told, there was slightly more than 2,400 tons in the republic. The seals were completely intact.

Therefore, the butifos had been withdrawn even before the beginning of Defoliation-87; the multimillion-strong readers of OGONEK were misinformed. However, is it possible that the medical doctors were mistaken? Is it possible that they were deceived?

Yu. Izmaylov suggested: "Let us recheck. We invite any writer, journalist or public figure to travel to any place he chooses where butifos is allegedly being used. We will take tests together and analyze them. If the rumor is confirmed, we will inform the procurator's office and the guilty parties will be made answerable—including us.

The republic press published this appeal on 15 October. We communicated by telephone with the Muskovite A. Minkin. The idea of checking his article using chemical analyses did not evoke enthusiasm. In reply to the question: "The Great Uzbek Highway passes through five oblasts. In which one of them did the events you described occur?"—we received the answer: "I forget. Give me your telephone number. I will find out and call you back."

There has been no call. Not one of those, who were hysterical during the press conference and on the pages of Tashkent and Moscow magazines and newspapers, has used the opportunity to "expose the chemical users" whom they publicly accused of evil actions against their own people. Thus was the gossip bubble burst—gossip which had been launched during the very height of the present harmonious and rapid cotton harvesting hard work for the first time in many years. The demagogues, who have tried to misuse glasnost, have exposed themselves.

#### Author of 'Cotton Slave' Article Blasted

18300204 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
16 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by Yu. Kruzhilin, UzTAG correspondent:  
"What Are You Mocking?"]

[Text] "Here is Damir. He is now picking cotton. I asked him to smile. He understood; however, he was not able to do so."

Thus begins the article "Cotton Slave" in the 43d issue of OGONEK. There is a photo of Damir with an apron. A total of 74 lines—strong and odorous. Like everything that comes from the pen of this author who seemingly has elected himself to poke fun at Uzbekistan's open wounds.

But, first about Damir—the "cotton slave" on whom Uzbek cotton-growing rests; as the magazine writes: "The adults are smiling" from posters and "the children are harvesting".

There is no last name and address of the young boy in the article. It only says: "I and two Uzbek writers (witnesses!) am in the Srednechirchikskiy Rayon of Tashkent Oblast." We found Damir Sharapov, a 16-year-old student in the 15th Vocational Technical School. Foreman Abdurasul Riskulov said: "We were walking from the field to dinner; the group was in front and I behind it. I saw a white Volga parked on the highway. Three people got out. One took a photograph and the others talked with the children. For a long time? I did not have time to get there before they got into the machine and—applied the gas...."

The successful photo model was exposed. Damir Sharapov is a morose fellow both in the photograph and in life. Gulya, his sister and a kindergarten teacher whom we found in Tashkent, said: "Why should he be happy. We were born in Bukhara. Our father was electrocuted and our mother could not endure the grief. Five of us remained—I and my four little brothers. The older ones studied and traveled where they would. It was most difficult of all for Damir. He was three years old when we were orphaned. He grew up in a children's home until he was 15, and they then sent him to a vocational technical school. He will be a welder. He visits me but only on his days off...."

Why should Damir, who has known so little good and kindness in life, smile at the command of an unfamiliar uncle? You see, he did not know that the excursionists passing by were no other than his saviors from slave labor—and that they would spit on Damir and his problems from the Volga's window. Give them a collective model of an exploited childhood; an individual fate does not interest the writers.

"Here, they feed them. Here, they sleep"—these small cotton slaves, OGONEK writes. Word for word from "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

Yes, here they eat—in the school dining hall. I ate with them. Breakfast consisted of a roll, butter, a cutlet, and tea (and not "bread, butter and tea"); lunch—pearl-barley soup with meat, naval macaroni and stewed fruit (and not "soup and porridge"); the mid-day snack—grapes and bread (the magazine was silent about the mid-day snack; "It is autumn and Tashkent—where are the vegetables and fruit?"); supper—shavlya, a roll and

tea. They also cook cabbage soup, borshch and potatoes—but not often, once or twice a week. The food is not of the highest grade, but it is no worse than in any other children's home, boarding school or military unit in the country. They clothe them here—they are on full state maintenance. Here, they sleep—in a four-story hostel. Here, they study—in a new school building. Here, they learn equipment: four sowing machines, 19 tractors, four trucks, two scrapers, three bulldozers, and two harvesting machines. The third, the graduating, class works in farm workshops and shops.

"Do you work daily?—no, each day." The Moscow uncle joked about the children's poor knowledge of the Russian language. Yes, children both read and count poorly at times in our villages. The hearts of everyone, for whom this is their native kray, hurts because of the misfortune to which the years of window-dressing and fraud have given birth.

Incidentally, Damir essentially replied correctly to the question. The medical technicians of human souls did not remind the capital's visitor: The school is preparing tractor operators, drivers, metal workers, farm workers, and welders for the village. Here, just as in village vocational technical schools throughout the country, work in the field is part of the training. These 704 children have picked 66 tons of cotton on their training farm—30 hectares—using manual harvesting—two days of work. They have helped their neighbors sow seeds also. What is shameful here? Peasant children work in the field throughout the world; otherwise there would be no peasants and no bread-winners for the people.

The whole question is: Whose hands gather the basic harvest? There is one vocational technical school in the rayon but 68 schools. Classes took place in these during the entire harvest (well, it is clear that the children of the leaseholders went with their families after their lessons). The rayon—I never in my life saw such a thing—was the first in the republic to scour and plow seed into its fields. Machines removed 35,000 of the 46,000 tons. The remainder was hardly enough for the adults: They organized the wage from top to bottom—the first, the best, raw cotton 15 kopecks a kilo; next, the cheaper. They sent the chiefs back to Chirchik: It was more profitable for themselves to harvest. Who did all this—the small children or their parents who "smiled from the posters?"

These are the facts. Was not the well known exclamation of Korovyev from "The Master and Margarita" directed toward our author: "I congratulate you, citizen, we have seduced!"?

It is time to name the citizen. It is Aleksandr Minkin. We have already exposed his lie about the use of butifos in Uzbekistan. We wrote how he evaded the checking of his articles using a chemical analysis of the plants and soil and how he had promised to point out the place where they had poured butifos but had again lied. OGONEK was not the first to publish his article on "cotton

slaves". "To our total shame, the newspaper of the republic's Union of Writers and Ministry of Culture, UZBEKISTON ADABIYATI VA SANYATI, which is published in Tashkent, did this. Having abbreviated the article, Minkin "sold" the remnants to OGONEK, covering himself in a cowardly fashion under the pseudonym of "Aleksandr Treplev."

In an interview in the local LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, he accused the republic's leadership of consciously poisoning their own people with chemicals. Radio Ozodlik shouted these words of his from another end of the earth, having lied at the same time that they had been published .... in IZVESTIYA. They say that there is no life in Uzbekistan for a spare word; the best Moscow pens stand up for the people.

In Gazalkent where they delivered Minkin to a mob of "saviors of Bostanlyk", he delivered a speech. He urged that all deputies, who were in favor of expanding industry in the rayon, be deprived of their authority. The TASHKENT KHAKIKATY newspaper inserted an account of the speech.

He demanded that defoliation be banned, that is, halt machine harvesting and return millions of people to manual labor, in the OGONEK article entitled "A Deadly Infection." [For a translation of this article, which in fact appeared in OGONEK No 13, see pages 35-40 of the JPRS series SOVIET UNION: POLITICAL AFFAIRS, JPRS- UPA-88-028 dated 27 July 1988.]

He wrote in OGONEK: "The children had been in the field near Rashidov and Usmankhodzhayev. They had been there in April (?) of this year—had anything really changed?" He added in the local LITERATURNAYA GAZETA: I come to look. If I do not see children in the cotton—"I will believe in the Uzbeks' restructuring." I saw them there. And, therefore, the "Uzbeks" have no restructuring.

Minkin and his local sponsors are active for the sake of this—suggesting that we do not have restructuring. Those, for whom reforms in the republic are a sharp knife, stand behind them.

In the end, we were not able to find anything else in the Minkin affair. Perhaps, however, the UZBEKISTON ADABIYATI VA SANYATI editorial board does not know that last year not only did they send children to the fields but they also told the press to "support the noble initiative" of the pupils. A decree of the Council of Ministers and an order of the republic's minister of public education have now been issued: Child labor to pick cotton has been officially banned for the first time. The Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee Buro has charged journalists with exposing instances of violations and seeing to it that the guilty parties are punished. The entire press has been included in this difficult work.

The hope of Minkin's inspirers is to destabilize the situation with a lie at a time when things are taking a turn for the better. Let them not talk to us about pluralism and glasnost in this case. It is not necessary to stain these concepts. Glasnost is for people who are conducting an honest discussion for the sake of the cause.

We and the country are happy for Uzbekistan's honest cotton. Those 74 lines in OGONEK will not erase what has been done and will not cause one to lose his way. We will work and solve our problems. We will teach children the sciences, work trades and the farmer's skill that has brought fame to their great-grandfathers, grandfathers and fathers. Neither we nor our children will ever be slaves. The article "Cotton in the Aprons of Children" and its scrap—"Cotton Slave"—represent spitting in the face for our working people who are filled with the determination to end the accursed legacy of recent years. It would do no harm for the newspaper UZBEKISTON ADABEYETI VA SANYATI and the magazine OGONEK to apologize to their readers for Minkin's trick.

#### Roundtable on What Divides, Unites Informal Groups in LiSSR

18000466 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
6 Jan 89 p 3

[V. Skripov report on roundtable discussion: "More Specific Business. A Conversation Between the 'Informals' on What Divides Them and What Unites Them"]

[Text] In the past year Lithuania's sociopolitical skyline has become diverse. It is not a simple matter to look into the whirlpool of the varied movements and trends to discern the abundance of emotions and ambitions without risking falling into tendentiousness. Although they do reflect the important features of today's civic life in the republic, the newspapers and television battles and the passions blazing at the meetings and gatherings and the statements by political leaders, this is just the tip of the iceberg. Along with this, every day the public processes involve the daily existence of hundreds of thousands of people burdened with their daily concerns in production. It is precisely there at the machine tools and Kuhlman units, behind desks and in the workers' smoking rooms that the resounding slogans and appeals whose common leitmotif is acceleration and radical perestroyka acquire the contours of practical thinking and specific matters. It is precisely there, when matters are revealed, that what divides and what unites people becomes clear, and the differences are deciphered and the emotional passions are vented. This is why I wanted to hold a roundtable meeting with representatives of the various informal organizations, but not the leaders of their headquarters but the rank-and-file "sympathizers"—the members of a single labor collective. The "Neris" Production Association was a suitable address for this.

This choice is justified because at the "Neris" we find representatives of virtually all the major social trends:

"Sajudis," "Yedinstvo," the "Russian Cultural Center" (RKTs) and the "Society of Poles in Lithuania" [OPL]. Those taking part in the discussion included workers from the head plant V. Matskevich (OPL), Yu. Vilkevich (OPL), V. Girins (Sajudis), M. Dedusenko (RKTs) and Yu. Kuzmenko (Yedinstvo), and party committee secretary G. Shilo."

[Skripov] Since your enterprise is located in a region with a predominantly Polish population, I would like to address my first question to the two representatives of the Society of Poles in Lithuania present here. What does this informal association represent at the "Neris" and how is its activity seen?

[Matskevich] The OPL was set up in mid-summer, and at our enterprise in October 1988. It is not a political but a cultural organization that exists under the Lithuania Cultural Foundation and has as its purpose promoting the development of Polish language, literature and history, independent creativity, national traditions and so forth. In accordance with the organizational structure of the society we have the status of a "circle" with an aktiv (or board) at its head. At this time the circle's membership is about 120 people. We believe that this is not very many because there are eight times as many Poles at the plant.

[Skripov] And how do you define the number of members?

[Matskevich] At first we defined this during the organizational meeting, at which all those present were asked to fill out special cards. Certification and membership dues will probably be introduced later.

[Skripov] I understand that your organization is still very young, but nevertheless what is its specific activity?

[Matskevich] In the main I can single out only the plans, and within them the measures such as setting up a history circle to study the role of the Poles in the life of our area, the organization of trips around the Vilnius region, and participation by Poles in the winter games so as to enter the competitions at Zakopan, for which the winners will qualify, holding soirees of Polish culture and so forth. Together with neighboring enterprises and the activists in our society we are trying to organize regular movie shows in Polish in Vilnius, and also to put out our own newspaper (for CHERVONY SHTANDAR is now already threatening that it will no longer be the spokesman for the society). It is worth noting that among the 18 Poles sent this year to Poland to study in the colleges, one of them was a fellow worker of ours, Edita Kolosovskaya.

[Girins] Tell us, Vladislav, how do you regard yourselves: as Poles in Lithuania or Lithuanian Poles? That is, do you feel that you have common roots with the Lithuanians, who have also left an imprint on your culture?

[Matskevich] Of course. For the Lithuanians and Poles in our area make up a single whole. We even have a common religion. I do not understand people who try to draw attention to the differences. For, as someone said at the Sajudis congress, even our blood has been mixed, so that it is difficult to find a "purebred." We are grateful to the Lithuanians for the fact that they have preserved our culture and our schools. And our society sees a political aspect to its activity only in those cases in which the need might arise to defend our rights. Personally I share the program statement of Sajudis but I do not support some of its actions.

[Skripov] The concept of "culture" is interpreted in many ways. So as to clarify the boundaries of your ideas on this I would like to ask the following: do you include questions of economic culture and the ecology in the sphere of your activity?

[Matskevich] No, we are not involved in these issues. Although as a specialist or as a citizen none of us can remain indifferent but in some way or other defines his own attitude toward them.

[Skripov] Would you, in that case, permit the involvement of your members in political movements. Say, in Sajudis or Yedinstvo? I address this question both to you and the RKTs.

[Matskevich] Why not? I see no contradiction here. For one is a cultural organization and the other is a political organization.

[Dedusenko] I also think that this is permissible. Although not everyone in the Russian Cultural Center shares this viewpoint.

[Skripov] Evidently the concept of the status of the Society of Poles in Lithuania might be characterized as a concept of community and association of fellow countrymen, could it not? And what does the RKTs think about this?

[Dedusenko] Certainly this interpretation fits us. Although the range of RKTs functions is somewhat broader. In particular, we are planning to become involved in matters concerning the preservation of national cultural monuments and issues of school reform, improving economic literacy and certain other issues.

[Skripov] What is the attitude of the Society of Poles in Lithuania toward Yedinstvo?

[Vilkevich] It seems to me that it is playing the role of opponent to Sajudis. I seen nothing bad in that: the greater the diversity the richer the political life of the region and the less the monopoly on the truth.

At the same time we would welcome the creation of a strong Sajudis group at the enterprise.

[Skripov] And why is there still not one?

[Girins] Unfortunately, we still have only "sympathizers." This is possibly connected with the small number of Lithuanians at the enterprise. In the near future, however, a group will be set up and will become involved in problems of ecological protection.

[Skripov] Then perhaps we can ask the representative of Yedinstvo to talk about his position.

[Kuzmenko] Our history is, perhaps, the shortest of all. In November representatives of the Yedinstvo working group addressed us and acquainted the collective with its declaration. Then a collection of signatures was organized on the matter and from this we conclude that the views of the organization are shared by about 500 of the plant workers. Alas, we are still unable to boast of any specific activity.

However, my opinion of Yedinstvo is as follows. Many important political documents are appearing in the republic, affecting the interests of people of different nationalities and social groups. Unfortunately, not all these documents have been drawn up giving proper consideration to public opinion all strata. Organizations like ours should take the political initiative in making people broadly aware of the content of the drafts of these documents and clarifying viewpoints and proposals on them, thus shaping constructive criticism that can be passed on to the party and government organs. This is also a practical demonstration of democracy.

One more comment: I am categorically against the informal movements drawing up or issuing laws and government programs in their own name. I understand, for example, when, say, the Academy of Sciences or some government committee is engaged in work on the draft constitution or the concept of republic cost accounting, but it is unacceptable when this kind of document comes from Sajudis. Everything should be done professionally, on assignment from the party and government, and Sajudis or Yedinstvo can express public opinion reflecting the interests of all strata of the population. Otherwise we shall exchange one bureaucracy for another.

[Skripov] It seems to me that in our conversation we should remember one organ of self-management—the councils of the labor collectives. How, in your opinion, do they fit into the variegated polyphony of the present-day informal associations?



[Vilkevich] It seems to me that given the existing restrictions on the rights of the labor collectives this is nothing but a wrench in the wheel for the administration. While the law on the enterprise remains only on paper there is no advantage to them. How can parental feelings be instilled if there is no child?

[Kuzmenko] I disagree. Yes, in fact, given existing conditions, when cost accounting is still trying to find a path for itself, the role of the labor collective council is insignificant. It is not fortuitous that at most enterprises they only place their signatures on enterprise requests to lower the plan or reject contractual deliveries. But in the long term they can become full organs of soviet power at the local level. Yedinstvo is trying to cooperate with them in the closest possible way.

[Shilo] In today's situation the party committee sees its task in finding a method for uniting the interests and efforts of the various informal movements. For essentially, each of them is acting under the slogans of support for perestroyka. This means that there are points of contact. Perhaps the labor collective councils should also become a unifying center. I like the idea that the labor collective councils could play a role in soviet power at the enterprises. I do not think that any insurmountable barriers exist between our "informal" organizations. The absurdity and artificiality of dividing people according to "national quarters" are particularly noticeable when they work side by side in one collective. And it seems to me that at this meeting today each of us has felt that. We can all cooperate and augment each other. The main thing is that there be more specific business.

#### Instead of an Afterword

It would be naive to expect that all the dots could be placed over the "i's" in this conversation. However, we do think that if these kinds of meetings took place in the labor collectives more often, not necessarily with a journalist acting as moderator, they would be very useful. It is precisely practical work on specific plans and business that throws up in relief people's goals, attitudes and approaches, weeding out the cockles of demagoguery and idle chatter and prompting the points of contact. Moreover, thinking about people's fields of activity and direct spheres of interest makes it possible to choose the right landmarks and the headquarters themselves when setting up their own structures and program positions. Then no one need fabricate or dream up effective measures and there is no need to become entangled in organizational questions and waste time on fruitless dispute. And it will not wait, it warns us: "Do not just talk about perestroyka!"

#### LaSSR: NFL Aids Afghan War Veterans, Creates Social Issues Committees

18000461 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH  
in Russian 6 Dec 88 p 3

[Article by Olga Avdevich: "The NFL: From Words to Deeds"]

[Text] "People will stop listening to the most just demands, attractive slogans and reassuring promises if

after a certain time they do not see businesslike steps to implement them. Of course, meetings and statements and demonstrations and initiatives are all very well. But they are not enough. Ultimately the authority and prestige of the People's Front will depend on how we feel about it today and, perhaps even more, on the real results of its work. Special commissions have now been set up under the Latvian People's Front [NFL] which must engage in specific action in the various spheres of our life. I would like to have more details about these commissions and their programs for action.

[signed] A. Shcherbakov, Riga.

One of the specific matters now being dealt with by the NFL is providing assistance for disabled veterans who served in Afghanistan. The People's Front has allocated R20,000 from its own funds that will be transferred to Afghan veterans. A special commission has been set up under the Duma to handle that money. The commission includes a representative of the "Salang" international veterans club, Ivan Kuzmin. The NFL hopes that the republic Council of Ministers will support it in this matter and also allocate funds to help veterans injured in Afghanistan. Not in some memorial or some other abstract way but personally, to each one. The NFL also fully supports the proposal to make the "Yantar" boarding school in Yurmala into a rehabilitation center for veterans.

Some 19 commissions have been set up under the NFL Duma and are now starting their work.

The Political Committee will deal with matters that relate to the political part of the NFL Program.

The National Economic Committee must, with help from the leading specialists and scientists, develop scientifically sound concepts for the republic's national economy that are, possibly, also alternatives to the official concepts.

The Environmental Committee deals with problems associated with the human habitat, from the ecology to the cultural sphere.

The Legal Committee. The focus of attention here is questions concerning the creation of a legal state in Latvia.

The Committee for Social Justice monitors observance of justice in the distribution of all material blessings, and in resolving the housing question. One of the directions in its work is eliminating the special services, special benefits and special privileges for selected people.

The Committee for the Democratization of Production defends workers' rights and monitors to insure that no one infringes on their interests.

The Agricultural Committee deals not only with economic problems in agriculture but also questions of everyday life and leisure for rural inhabitants.

The Committee for National Education and Culture is working on the principles for consolidating the humanitarian basis in the educational system at all levels, from preschool establishments to the VUZes.

The Science and Education Committee deals with questions concerning the creation of a unified, continuous chain: education—science—production.

The Committee for History and De-Stalinization is engaged in historical research and clarification of the facts connected with the "blank spots" in the history of Latvia.

The Committee for Training for the Forum of the Peoples of the Latvian SSR is working in close contact with the republic state and party leadership and the organizing committee for holding the forum.

The Committee for Freedom of Conscience and Religious Belief is working with the representatives of various religious organizations and deals with questions of religion, morals and ethics.

The Coordinating Committee is establishing links and regulating relations between the NFL and other public organizations and informal associations. Many people have a tendency to equate the NFL with the various informal groupings. But neither the Environmental Protection Club, nor Helsinki-86, nor the Movement for the Independence of Latvia, nor the Informal People's Front are collective members of the NFL. The NFL cooperates with the "informals" only in those matters in which their positions and programs do not diverge.

The Committee for Foreign Ties is establishing contacts with various organizations abroad and cooperating with fellow-countrymen abroad.

The Press Center is responsible for publicizing the work of the NFL through the mass media.

The Demographic Committee is working on a concept for the demographic development of the republic. The committee will be paying special attention to providing help for families with many children.

The Center for Social Predictions will be engaged in sociological studies, public opinion polls and the study of public opinion. In order to stay on a proper course the NFL must have an objective idea of the moods and needs of the republic's inhabitants.

The Committee for a Healthy Way of Life together with the Association of Latvian Physicians has outlined a program for the development of physical culture and sport in the republic. The basic principle of this program is not going for records but mass sports.

The Lecture Group now has the heaviest work load. Lecturers are speaking to the most diverse audiences, explaining the NFL program, aims and tasks. Special attention is being paid to work with the non-Latvian part of the population.

As you can see, in some sense the organizational structure of the NFL committees duplicates the traditional administrative structure. The People's Front must cooperate with existing organizations rather than set itself in opposition to them. Only through combined effort is it possible to achieve the results that all the inhabitants of the republic expect.

**New TV Broadcast Allows Republic Leaders to Regularly Address Pressing Issues**  
*18000458a Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian*  
*15 Dec 88 p 2*

[Text] Among the critical comments and suggestions aired to republic party and council organs at Party conferences was one that the republic's leaders must appear more frequently on television to address the most pressing issues. This proposal gained the support of the Latvian CP CC and Latvian television. It was decided to create a new cycle of TV programs entitled "Frankly Speaking."

A discussion with Latvian CP CC Secretary I. Ya. Kezbers started this cycle; it was broadcast on television 1 December. The most pressing issues of ideological work were discussed during the program.

Today, to continue the cycle, to which many TV viewers have already responded, there will be a discussion with Latvian CP CC First Secretary Ya.Ya. Vagris. He will answer questions concerning agricultural priorities, the development of the republic concept of cost accountability, and will describe the process of nominating candidates for Latvian CP deputies. During the discussion the basic conclusions of the Party conferences and the communists' task in accelerating perestroika will be analyzed.

This program will be broadcast on Latvian television today immediately following "The Projector of Perestroika."

**Latvians Surveyed on Results of People's Forum**  
*18000458b Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian*  
*18 Dec 88 p 3*

[LATINFORM report: "People's Forum Through the Eyes of the Public"]

[Text] The Center for the Study and Prognostication of Public Opinion of the Institute of Party History under the Latvian CP CC conducted a telephone opinion poll among

residents of Riga, Yurmala, Yelgava and Ogre in conjunction with the Forum of the Peoples of the LaSSR which took place. Some 75 percent of those questioned had followed the course of the forum by listening to live radio or television broadcasts. Of those, 70 percent described the forum's contribution to improving international relations in the republic as being positive; 17 percent felt that the forum and its results were negative; the remainder refrained from answering the sociologists' questions.

The greatest approval was won by the speeches of the Chairman of the Presidium of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet, A. Gorbunov, First Secretary of the Liyepayskiy Party Gorkom A. Chepanis, and LaSSR Justice Minister V. Skudra. Many positive responses were elicited by the speeches of A. Kletskin, senior teacher at the P. Stuchka Latvian State University; Ya. Stradyn, academician of the LaSSR Academy of Sciences; M. Kostenetskaya, writer; and R. Vinogradov, professor, RKIIGA [possibly Republic Committee Institute of History-State Archives].

The poll's organizers express their deep gratitude to all participants.

**Editor's Pro-Latvian People's Front,  
Anti-Interfront Bias Criticized**

18000460 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
25 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by L. Pavlova: "The Pendulum Effect"]

[Text] In Liyepaya, two events occurred simultaneously.

At the Metallurgists Palace of Culture, delegates to the city party conference were raising a mandate, voting for or against including in the secret ballot election bulletin the name of the editor of the newspaper KOMMUNIST, G. Balodis, for election to the new gorkom.

And on the central square, the citizenry, gathered by the People's Front for a meeting on another matter, raised homemade placards and planned to go with them to the Palace of Culture to support G. Balodis and the paper he edits. The meeting's participants were not telepathic: the conferences proceedings had been broadcast by the city radio station, and anyone who wanted to could listen to how sharply many communists were criticizing their newspaper.

This plot composed by real life is distinguished not only by its unity of place and time but by its dramatics as well. Incidentally, the collision in and of itself has overtones not only of exclusivity, but of typicality. The press, caught in the conflict of opinions, became the arena for a bitter struggle.

A newspaper is a tribune sufficiently high so as to require an intelligent and qualified orator, commentator, interpreter. This is not simply a tribune: democracy has not abolished the press's role as the mouthpiece for the ideas of the Party and of the Council of People's Deputies.

Here, the responsibility is mutual: of the party organizations for the newspaper, and of the newspaper for manifesting the positions of its publisher.

But then when communists adopted resolutions at their election meetings expressing mistrust of the newspaper KOMMUNIST, and when the resolutions of other primary party organizations expressed unconditional trust in G. Balodis, and when the newspaper itself published a tendentious overview of letters, taking seriously only the favorable ones, and when P. Yaunzem, deputy editor and secretary of the KOMMUNIST party organization published an article in PADOMJU JUANATE calling for the defense of his newspaper, which, in his opinion, had fallen into a hostile environment, the Liyepaya party gorkom in no way expressed its opinion.

For the second time this year, SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA writes about KOMMUNIST: the first publication was called "Who Needs a 'Hand' Newspaper?" The ring of truth is accepted, but at this point it is regrettable that event unfolded as foretold, and so sequentially. The party gorkom's lack of desire, or more likely, lack of ability to really lead its party organ, at first expressing itself in petty nit-picking, then in contradictory directives, now turning into lost silence, has led to the newspaper's absence of definite orientation. A holy place does not remain empty for long: KOMMUNIST has found itself another leader, and day by day expresses more clearly the mood of the People's Front forces which are by no means the best.

Having decisively adopted only this point of view, the journalists have actively included themselves in the struggle with the expanding Interfront, as have many impatient figures of the People's Front. The People's Front does not want to share its popularity with anyone.

Here is how P. Yaunzem interviews the secretary of the Komsomol committee of the Ocean Fishing Fleet Base, V. Uchitel. In his preamble, the journalist has already put his reader in a certain frame of mind. "He (Uchitel-L.P.) affirms that he is fulfilling the responsibilities of the manager of an information center created by the front."

Now let us listen in on the questions the journalist asks:

"Why don't you belong to the NFL?" "Why does it displease you that the Latvian people, and the republic's residents of other nationalities, rejoice at the new free speech and spirit of renewal?"

At this point, V. Uchitel protested, "You want to present me here as a Russian chauvinist."

That is undoubtedly what P. Yaunzem wanted, but he will not admit it. Therefore, he did not respond to this reproach, and branded his interlocutor with the comment, "I feel, however, that V. Uchitel was not being entirely open."

Thus the image of the enemy is created with simple means right at hand. But this is not enough. V. Uchitel—the name starts to pop up frequently in KOMMUNIST. Of course, approving responses to the interview are published. And the entire staff of the Komsomol gorkom apparatus signs a denial. "Participation in the creation of Interfront is incompatible with the responsibilities of the vacated post of Komsomol committee secretary." We get a strange picture: One may enter the NFL, which does not acknowledge the Party's leading role, but not Interfront, which acknowledges the CPSU's leading role in society. Where is the logic?

Interfront participants, it is true, were given their say, under the heading "Explanations," a letter selected from the letters to the editor. But do not leave the reader alone with another point of view. In the same selection, under the signature of the director of school No 10 L. Kaminskaya and her deputy L. Molchanovaya is added:

"Under cover of Interfront, information is being distributed and signatures collected openly expressing its (sic-L.P.) divisive activities and inhibiting the progress of perestroyka."

Another of KOMMUNIST's "personal enemies" in recent months had been the General Construction Trust's Party organization secretary, Yu. Anton, who also, in the newspaper's eyes, is a representative of Interfront. They do not stand on ceremony with him, either.

I do not feel that I have the right to judge whether Yu. Anton is a good partkom secretary; for that question, I rely on the opinion of the communists who re-elected him. But even if his work showed serious shortcomings, these are not the ones which P. Yaunzem emphasizes in his account of the General Construction Trust's meeting of the primary party organization. He writes that in his speech, Yu. Anton "set aside a significant amount of space for attacks, you could not call them anything else, on the editorial staff of KOMMUNIST."

And this is sufficient to mention Yu. Anton's name frequently and disapprovingly in the tribune of KOMMUNIST as well as PADOMJU JAUNATE, accusing him of vengeance against KOMMUNIST for the criticism.

KOMMUNIST's logic no longer makes things difficult, especially in the choice of expressions. An example:

"A rival and ideological brother, Hitler continued to internationalize...the bloody sin..."

"In order to insure the preservation of the existing abnormal situation...Interfront was created,...whose positions are expressed in SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA and RYBAK LATVIL."

After all of the above, the paradoxical thought will emerge that in blindly defending only NFL, the newspaper KOMMUNIST is doing it more harm than good. Precisely by this inability, this obtrusive defense, the newspaper averts from the popular movement the very forces willing and able to benefit perestroyka. People have waited long enough for concrete action, and are tired of rallies and appeals.

But in KOMMUNIST we read a half-column conversation with tenth-grader Kaspar, and imagine how tomorrow's workers, engineers and journalists see the future, but we do not learn what they are doing now for their own future and that of the republic. We even read about Kaspar's "adventures" and the NFL congress, when he stuffed hot dogs in pockets and spilled apples.

The activities at the congress seem extremely frivolous through the youth's eyes. You cannot help thinking: What are we beating our spears about if it is all so simple? We gathered, we made noises, we adjourned. And to boot, a journalist informs the reader in passing that kids make fun (sic) of the Komsomol, and only believe in the NFL. Is this all a game?

Silence fell in the hall when the results of the secret ballot were made known at the city party conference. Two communists failed to obtain enough votes to join the new staff of the city party committee: gorkom secretary responsible for ideological work, I. Sveyle, and KOMMUNIST editor G. Balodis. The latter failed by a single vote. However, G. Balodis was nevertheless affirmed editor of the newspaper KOMMUNIST.

How did this come about? It is probably the same way with other mass information media. The pendulum effect was at work. The pointer had long been squeezed in one place. Upon release, it could not find the golden mean. But perhaps, having analyzed the mistakes, it is time to acquire stability and common sense, to take up a clear, principled course.

In vain, however, do I search in the newspaper KOMMUNIST for an explanation for all that had occurred. We are far removed from the time when lists of members of the new gorkom were published, along with a short sentence that G. Balodis was affirmed editor. It publishes neither the commentary of the gorkom secretary, nor the thoughts of the editor about his acceptance of this lesson, taught by communists at their election meeting, on how the editorship should continue.

**Ukrainian Rights Activist on Cultural Renaissance**  
*18120055 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English*  
*No 3, 22-29 Jan 89 p 11*

[Article by Ivan Dzyuba: "A Time to Gather Stones—Paradoxes of Ukrainian National Culture"]

[Text] The October issue of the DNIPRO magazine featured never-before-published excerpts from the 1954 diary of film director Alexander Dovzhenko. Among this artist and philosopher's sad reflections there is this one: "...In the 40th year of building socialism the sciences are taught in Russian in the capital of the Ukraine (pop. 40 million) as they are at institutions of higher learning elsewhere in the UkSSR. There is nothing like this anywhere else in the world. I remember Lenin's letters on the nationalities question and I think: don't tell me anything else. I have understood everything and am filled to overflowing. If my people haven't been able to create a higher school of their own, then all the rest, absolutely all the rest, is irrelevant."

The national culture and language are the focus of heated debates in the Ukraine, which for their passion and drama rival those on Chernobyl. Ukrainians frequently speak about the "spiritual Chernobyl" which some feel is threatening us and others believe exploded during the stagnation years.

The Ukraine is one of the economically more developed Soviet Republics and compares favourably with some European countries. With 18 percent of the country's total population, it produces over 20 percent of the aggregate social product, including more than 25 percent of the farm produce. But what about spiritual culture? The Ukraine accounts for only 10 percent of all Soviet book titles and only 7.5 percent of the combined printings. And less than a half the printings and less than a quarter of the book titles are in the Ukrainian language. It should be borne in mind, of course, that Russians make up a large part of the Republic's population.

Ukrainian national culture lacks structural fullness. Many sectors (the theatre, cinema, entertainment and amusement genres) have been enfeebled, whereas others are totally lacking (there are practically no Ukrainian children's and puppet theatres).

We and our Byelorussian brothers are perhaps the only peoples in Europe deprived of a higher school with instruction in our native language.

This is how we are on the eve of the third millennium A.D. But the beginning of the 20th century was highly promising for the Ukraine. The Leninist nationalities policy, pursued throughout the first decade of Soviet rule, gave the people's creative forces an outlet. For the Ukraine this was a genuine and long-awaited renaissance. Alas, it was later referred to as the "fusillade renaissance."

The notorious trial of the SVI (Spilki Vizvolennya Ukraini—Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine), staged in 1929, signalled the destruction of the national academic intelligentsia. It also started the elimination of a multitude of research institutions, the "simplification" and "purging" of national culture. The euphoric hunts for national-deviationist witches reached their breath-taking zenith.

The war on the peasantry unleashed by Stalin and the resultant famine of 1932-1933 dealt the heaviest blow at the Ukrainian ethnos. Schoolteachers and cooperative members were devastated. In 1933, Mykola Khvylevy, the leader and inspirer of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Proletarian Literature, and Mykola Skrypnyk, the most authoritative leader of Ukrainian Communists, took their lives. Their suicides spelled the end of the national renaissance. Beginning in 1933-1934, what remained of the old democratic intelligentsia and what there was of the new, proletarian intelligentsia was systematically destroyed. The martyrology is truly endless...

But this physical devastation was not the only tragedy. There was also the complete renunciation of the policy of "Ukrainization" (the policy that in socialist construction the Ukrainian people had to complete the process of national-cultural consolidation which the "classical" nations had passed through before). Pyotr Struve coined the formula of denationalization: "Capitalism speaks Russian." Nascent socialism was learning to speak the languages of all the peoples of the USSR.

Failure to accomplish the tasks of "Ukrainization" (let us not be misled by the unfortunate term) led to a gaping linguistic-cultural contradiction between city and countryside. And at the level of mass consciousness, let alone the administrative-bureaucratic one, it was impossible to combat the simplistic notion of language as solely a communication and ideological tool. There is little understanding of the language as the greatest spiritual treasure-trove, the carrier of historical memory, and a condition of the people's full-fledged existence.

But even in these shabby conditions Ukrainian culture survived, preserved its distinct identity and creative productivity, and gave rise to a variety of phenomena and figures of all-Union or even European importance. Today, with perestroika and democratization, our national culture has also been straightening its shoulders. There has been progress in literature, music and painting; the theatre and cinema are being revived. The trend of reconceptualizing the entire picture of reality, which was long hidden in the semiofficially mythologized model of life, has also been making its way.

The first fruits are likewise being yielded by the efforts to return to the people the wealth of their cultural heritage—from the philosophical and aesthetic thought of the times of the Kiev-Mogilyan Academy (17th century) to the most valuable works by the Ukrainian scholars of

the 19th-early 20th centuries, to the "fusilladed renaissance" of the 1920s and the "strangled renaissance" of the 1960s. But unlike Russian culture, we have only made the first timid steps in this direction and in establishing contacts with Ukrainian cultural forces outside the country.

The return of this estranged spiritual wealth is part of the more general process of restoring the people's historical memory. Previously it was reduced to a few ABC episodes. But the Ukraine's history is the most interesting facet of European and world history. It gave birth to some social models and values which enriched world experience in democratic self-organization. Take the Zaporizhska Sich or Cossack Republic, a heroic and not unsuccessful attempt to implement the people's social utopia. Hushing up the democratic, republican traditions of Ukrainian (Zaporizhska Sich, early Hetmanship) and Russian (Novgorod and Pskov republics) history was one way of fostering totalitarian political thinking. It is especially important to restore the brilliance of these democratic colours in the palette of our past.

The ecological movement has also been gaining momentum in the Ukraine. Writers, publicists and scientists have done much to conceptualize every aspect of the Chernobyl tragedy and other acts of violence to nature and life. The "counterpoint" mass ecological movement is also gaining in breadth. It receives "additional nourishment" in the traditional popular-cultural consciousness, in which cosmological and ecological motives have always been pronounced.

Animation and quests increasingly permeate professional unions and scientific collectives. And "from below" there is sharpened interest in history and culture, in the Ukrainian language, its origin and development. Historico-cultural and mother-tongue societies are springing up in many cities. A Russian-Language Society of Friends of Ukrainian Culture and Language is engaged in vigorous and noble activities in Lvov.

The establishment of a Popular Front in support of perestroika could be a logical development of this process. Its idea was formulated in the Ukraine, but so far it has not yet been possible to realize it.

The proposed Popular Front (or any other form of association) could work on the solution of general political and socio-economic problems and on the realization and practical "advancement" of problems of national-cultural development, improving interethnic relations and making sure that Ukrainian culture "work" to full capacity and increase its contribution to our common multinational socialist spiritual wealth.

### **Morgun, Aganbegyan, Others Summarize Soviet Environmental Concerns**

*18300234 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA  
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 30 Dec 88 p 2*

[Report by S. Panasenko and D. Pipko: "The Question Is the Survival of Humanity: General Meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences with the Participation of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imini V. I. Lenin, the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, the USSR State Environmental Protection Committee and the USSR State Hydrometeorology Committee"]

[Text]

### **Science Protecting Nature**

G. Marchuk, President of the USSR Academy of Sciences:

In our times ecological problems are becoming increasingly global and important to humanity. The rapid progress of worldwide technological development has given rise to an irresponsible attitude toward nature on the part of people. It has resulted in willful decisions that have proven or may in the future prove to be ruinous to the planet's ecological systems, which are adapted to the natural conditions of the biosphere and are poorly resistant to artificial changes in the environment. They have proven to be poorly protected against the threat of degradation.

Aerosols that are harmful and dangerous to the biosphere are in many cases having a ruinous impact on the life of animals and the health of human beings themselves, causing mutations in their organisms that are not completely controllable by their immune defense systems.

Forests, the "planet's lungs," which in their biological cycle support the oxygen balance in our planet's atmosphere and create conditions for maintaining water arteries in regions and on continents, are growing thinner and being unintelligently exploited.

Industrial discharges of chemical substances are destroying the ozone layer—the natural barrier against destructive ultraviolet radiation.

"Acid rain" is already striking thousands of square kilometers of land and vitally important zones on the planet, destroying plant cover and killing many bodies of water.

The thoughtless use of water that exceeds the capacity to reproduce it is turning large continental regions into deserts. Rivers and lakes that once were pure and abounding in water are growing shallow everywhere, blue-green algae are multiplying in them, and the water is becoming unfit for either drinking or the life of fish and other aquatic organisms. And that is far from everything.

We find ourselves at the point where it is still possible through human effort to stop the process of irreversible ecological changes. This should be promptly taken advantage of on the basis of international agreements, since it is impossible to solve these ecological problems on the scale of a single country, even such a large one as the USSR.

Since human society will develop steadily, its industrial activity will also develop. Science should raise the question of the sort of development of all spheres of human activity in which innovations and the intensification of the economy do not result in the degradation of the ecosystems that support life on the planet.

It is we scientists who should provide recommendations on waste-free technologies, closed-cycle industrial production facilities, and facilities that would restore components of the environment that have already been disturbed.

Of course, on the scientific level these questions are very complex and require the efforts of the whole community of scientists and specialists. Scientists' proposals will sometimes result in the need for major capital investments in environmental-protection measures. But if society disregards scientists' conclusions, correcting mistakes will take outlays tens and hundreds of times as great, and in some cases it will no longer be possible to rectify matters.

Science can help not only put to put forward good project plans but also to improve the ecological regime of entire regions. We are already accustomed to the inevitability of the development of arid zones on the planet. They are formed, as a rule, under the influence of long-term climatic changes, including those caused by anthropogenic factors. But we rarely think about the fact that deserts can be turned into oases, although such cases have occurred in the history of our civilization. In our opinion, the work of Soviet scientists on forestation of the Kara Kum—one of the major arid zones of Eurasia—was a major event of recent times. Through the selection of endemic species, it proved possible to create plants that conquered hundreds of thousands of square kilometers, creating unique recreational zones for the life of people and fauna. Nebit-Dag is a symbol of man's victory over nature. And it is no accident that UNESCO has organized a world school in the Kara Kum on combating the spread of deserts.

Now for human beings themselves. Their immune system has been developed over the course of many years, quickly reacting to new bacteria and strains of viruses. But this ecological equilibrium between human beings and the environment is being disturbed today. Chemical discharges are resulting in accelerated mutations of human cells, among which cells that are dangerous from an oncogenic standpoint frequently appear. This leads to severe and sometimes even lethal outcomes. After all, any virus, as the theoreticians claim, develop substances

that weaken the immune system to one degree or another. That is why patients who are ill from viruses are the most susceptible to diseases. Including cancers. The AIDS virus, which paralyzes defense capabilities in general, has come to us in human society. A person who falls ill with this terrible disease becomes vulnerable to any and all diseases.

Thus the global problems of the climate, environment and the ecological security of human beings themselves, who are capable of transforming the world at their discretion, are coming together. And that transformation must be very rational.

Outlays for ecological problems are growing rapidly, primarily because of the need to create low-waste and waste-free technologies that prevent the entry of harmful discharges, starting with industrial facilities and motor vehicles, into the atmosphere and water basins. Nonetheless, humanity will undertake such outlays, since rectifying the situations that are being created will cost tens and hundreds of times as much as investments in initial environmental-protection projects.

#### Ecology and Power Engineering

Academician A. Yanshin:

Today as much output is produced annually in the world as was produced in 30 years in the first half of our century. Along with the scientific and technological revolution that is taking place before our eyes, not only have old types of human impact on the biosphere grown, but fundamentally new types have appeared, and new ecological problems have arisen. They include the incipient change in the climate under the influence of the greenhouse effect.

This May the International Conference on the Greenhouse Effect in Ottawa appealed to the governments of all countries to reduce the amount of fuel burned by at least 20 percent by the year 2000. This matter was even discussed during M. S. Gorbachev's last meeting with R. Reagan. The All-Union Design, Surveying and Research Institute imini S. Ya. Zhuk, hoping for a certain reduction and curtailment of the operation of thermal power stations, promptly drew up a vast program for the construction of 93 new power stations on all the country's rivers. In short, great concern has been raised.

The increased content of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is an incontrovertible fact. It is conjectured that in the middle of the 21st century its quantity will double, which will unquestionably show up in a global warming of the climate. It is estimated on the magnitude of from 1.5 to 4 degrees. Does this threaten any destructive consequences for the Soviet Union and other countries?

It has been calculated that a belt of considerably arid climate will stretch across southern Europe from Spain to the Ukraine. But above the 50th latitude in North

America and Eurasia, the amount of precipitation will rise to the extent that warming occurs. This has already begun. Consequently, the Volga's flow will increase.

And we have no reason to worry about the level of the Caspian Sea. We must only take emergency steps to stop the discharge of untreated industrial effluent into the Volga, otherwise we will destroy our entire stock of sturgeon.

Apprehensions have been expressed that the greenhouse effect may cause a rise in sea level by from 25 to 140 centimeters. These apprehensions were based on an assumed melting of the principal ice masses of Greenland and Antarctica. However, such an assumption is unfounded. We now know precisely that Antarctica's glacial shield was formed about 37 million years ago and has sustained several ages of warming more substantial than that which is anticipated from the greenhouse effect.

What has been said needs discussion and careful collective verification within the framework of the program that we are drawing up. And if my conclusions are confirmed, that should affect the country's energy policy.

We possess the world's largest reserves of gas, and we are continuing to discover more and more new deposits of it. We supply the socialist countries of Central Europe with gas and supply some quantities to Italy, Austria and the FRG. When fuel gas is burned, nothing is formed except carbon dioxide and steam. In the opinion of specialists, the cost of electric power obtained from burning fuel gas is approximately one-third that of the electric power generated by nuclear power plants. It is sometimes said, citing Mendeleyev, that gas must not be burned, because it is a raw material for the chemical industry. But then why do we sell it? Wouldn't it be better to obtain inexpensive and ecologically harmless electric power by burning it? After all, that would permit us to avoid the flooding of our fertile river valleys and the building of new hydroelectric power stations, and to hold up the construction of nuclear power plants until the development of a new and safer nuclear reactor, which has already been done in the United States.

### Through the Prism of Economics

Academician A. Aganbegyan:

Economists have two tools in the area of environmental impact. The first is centralized economic policy, and the second is the economic mechanism. The main thing in centralized policy is the specific purposes toward which it is oriented. And here one must say that in the past 15-20 years priority has been given to resource and production goals. If you trace the actual allocation of funds in the state, of budget money and centralized capital investments, it is easy to see that they have been primarily allocated for production purposes.

For a long time we increased the production of the extractive industry by 25-30 percent every five years. And although in the course of restructuring the objective has been proclaimed of shifting the economy to a course of intensification, so far in the past three years there has been no change in resource conservation and reduction of the nature-intensiveness of social production.

All this is bound up with the existing divorce of production from social requirements. As you know, we produce nearly six times as many tractors as the United States, but we do not attempt to utilize them properly, since we produce half as many trailers and attachments for them. We produce more gasoline-engine trucks with a capacity of 4-5 tons than the entire rest of the world; they burn about 30 million tons of fuel and pollute the environment.

In order to radically change our attitude toward nature, it is necessary first of all to put a stop to this ruinous tendency of extensive development, shift to resource conservation, and change the structure of industries, drastically reducing the proportion of the raw-materials extractive industries and raising the proportion of the finished-product industries. But so far centralized economic policy is insufficiently oriented toward environmental protection. From an economic standpoint, for example, it is not very clear why the Astrakhan Gas Refining Complex should be built when we are technically unprepared for it. The entire Volga delta is threatened with pollution by hydrogen sulfide. The irresponsible attitude toward the construction of that complex has already resulted in human casualties and other destructive consequences. However, we are already preparing to build second and third stages there, relying to a considerable degree on imported equipment and spending hundreds of millions in foreign exchange. For what?

Another extremely important area is the formation of a new economic mechanism that would be oriented, among other objectives, toward environmental protection. The first thing here is prices. Existing prices for fuel and raw materials are too low by at least half in comparison to prices both on the world market and in other countries. Because of this, a number of branches operate at a loss, and these prices in no way foster resource conservation and a frugal attitude toward these things. We absolutely must make provision for this in the course of price reform.

A second very important measure is the introduction of a charge for natural resources. This matter, thank God, has already been decided. But it is very important that the money received for resources go into environmental protection funds. At present this is not stipulated, and this money will go unidentified into the budget; money will be taken for timber, but that money will not be paid out for the restoration of forests.



### It is Impossible to Do Without Pesticides

A. Nikonov, president of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences

With a population that amounts to 5.5 percent of the planet's inhabitants, our country produces 11 percent of the grain, almost 12 percent of the meat, and about one-fourth of the total milk produced in the world. Nonetheless, we are experiencing food difficulties. We import more food than we export. How can this be understood?

There are many reasons. In the first place, the country has lost its peasantry and lacks a responsible, interested proprietor. That is one side of the problem. Another is that under our very complex natural conditions, the climatic and soil conditions under which agriculture is carried out, we have not been very attentive toward nature. This especially pertains to the soil, to that thin, fragile and easily damaged layer of earth on which the life of all humanity depends.

How can we create an economically effective and ecologically healthy agriculture?

First of all, we must overcome impersonality on farms. Then introduce ecologically sound practices in all elements of farming, i.e., crop-rotation systems, appropriate tillage methods, the use of fertilizers, techniques for cultivating all crops, and land reclamation.

The questions of land reclamation today are being raised on a new conceptual basis, the essence of which consists, in the first place, of comprehensiveness, i.e., the combination of water, agricultural- and forest-reclamation, biological, chemical and other techniques. In the second place, the combination of small and large projects. After that, priority to reconstruction, and a shift in land-reclamation construction to water-conservation technologies. The intensive utilization of reclaimed land.

Land reclamation must be developed with a view to our natural conditions and the fact that two-thirds of our arable land experiences a moisture shortage.

Agricultural enterprises are more and more widely shifting to intensive technologies for cultivating crops. On the average, these technologies provide an additional ton of grain or the equivalent amount of other products per hectare. But at the same time these technologies are distinguished by an increased physical, chemical and, especially, pesticidal burden. What can be done?

There is no alternative to intensification. But even here the policy should change. In the first place, high standards of production. In the second place, a sharp

increase in organic fertilizers, which should be approximately doubled. The search for and development of new forms of fertilizers that will exclude the pollution of soil and water with inert elements, especially chlorine, fluorine and sodium.

The matter of protecting plants and preventing the harmful effects of pesticides is especially urgent. There is no need to say how destructively they affect plants and aquatic organisms, and how they migrate into the water and soil and food products. Analysis shows that vegetables suffer most of all from pollution, after which come vegetable oil, fruits and berries; meat, poultry, eggs and milk suffer less.

We are counting in this undertaking on a productive pooling of the efforts of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences. Today we see no other solution than a thoroughgoing shift to an integrated system of plant protection in which priority is given to methods based on farming techniques and biological methods, while keeping a share of pesticides. But the pesticides themselves should be low-toxic.

### We Must Start With the Family

G. Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education:

This year we encountered a new phenomenon: in the Council of Ministers regions fought fiercely against the ministries' proposals to build some enterprise or other on their territories. That never happened before. Moreover, new enterprises usually have brought a certain infrastructure with them, which was always desirable for cities. But now that is not the case. In certain cities the population has vigorously opposed new projects. Such opposition has occurred in Kazan, Volgograd, Leningrad Oblast, Nizhniy Tagil, Kremenchug and other places. What brought it about? In the first place, the mass awareness of ecological danger.

In the magazine *KOMMUNIST* for last year one could find the following figures: 14,000 people die annually from the incorrect use of pesticides, and 700,000 get sick from it every year. The public is already accustomed to having the maximum permissible concentration cease to be the maximum permissible and start to be used as a standard of measurement—like a degree. When people hear: "We have 10 maximum permissible concentrations in our town," or "five maximum permissible concentrations," naturally they do not understand what that means and what they should do. Information on that subject is lacking—after all, we do not provide it.

But are we right not to provide that information? Is it moral to hide it? And at the same time, all it takes is to say that the concentration of harmful sulfur compounds in a city is 10 times the norm, and even a healthy person will start to feel sick solely because he has found out the sort of atmosphere he is living in.

As you see, the question of the accessibility of information to citizens is extremely important. In essence, it is a matter of increasing the entire population's ecological literacy. Otherwise, the most unforeseen consequences may arise.

In November I was in Ryazan at an open session of Russia's Writers' Union. The city theater and thousands of people were all electrified. Novgorod writer Dmitriy Balashov was speaking. A colorful figure: traditional Russian shirt, sash, and black trousers tucked into his boots. He spoke with rage: down with electric power plants; any power plant was an evil; a thermal power plant was evil; a hydroelectric power plant was evil; and a nuclear power plant was all the more evil. Down with mineral fertilizers! Nothing constructive in their place! But there was tremendous audience response and tremendous approval; everyone was interested. Yet what he was saying was a road to nowhere.

At present the vast preponderance of people are acquiring absolutely fragmented, unsystematic, and often incorrect knowledge about the environment. This means that efforts must be made to instill a love for nature in children in the family and in preschool institutions. And in the schools and higher schools, the key to success lies in the total overlapping of all subjects.

### **The Human Being Is the Measure of Everything**

Academician I. Frolov:

Up until now, the natural-science and technological approaches have dominated in the understanding of the essence of ecological problems. The priority of those approaches in this field is justifiable and useful. However, without giving less attention to them, today it is necessary, I think, to substantially step up the study of ecological problems from the standpoint of the social sciences and humanities.

Ecological problems, as it is now clear, are primarily social problems, and therefore social measures should form the basis of the ecological solutions that are adopted. The underestimation of this circumstance has negatively affected expert scientific reviews of a number of major projects, such as the project to divert the waters of northern rivers.

The 19th All-Union Party Conference set the task of achieving, in the course of revolutionary restructuring, a qualitatively new state of our society, a new, humane and democratic face of socialism in which the human being really becomes the measure of things. The accomplishment of that task is making us, I think, take a new approach to the interpretation of many problems of human ecology from the standpoint of social philosophy.

In accomplishing the tasks of environmental protection and the rational utilization of natural resources, the moral foundations of people's actual behavior toward

the environment, and their ability to act ecologically correctly are exceptionally important. This pertains most of all to production activity. But not just to it. In the social sciences and humanities, a good many studies have been devoted to characterizing the production value of nature as a source of material benefits. But the significance of nature as an aesthetic and ethical value and the foundation of people's spiritual wealth has not been seriously studied.

Hundreds of examples exist of how the production exploitation of natural resources has taken place in a way that is not only predatory in an economic sense but barbarous with respect to the beauty of nature, which is inseparably bound up with a people's spiritual viability. It turns out that our economy behaves toward nature like a conqueror in a foreign land. All this is done through the labor of many people, starting with economic executives and ending with ordinary workers.

Where is the lofty moral foundation here? Where is the sense of solicitude toward nature? Where is the people's high degree of ecological awareness? And those are not rhetorical questions, but a characterization of the level of morals in our society, something which should become the object of serious concern on the part of scientists, the creative and technical intelligentsia, and the entire people.

It seems to me that the nonformal—and I would call them new—organizations that are developing so intensively right now, including those that are oriented toward ecological problems, should have closer ties to science, including major science. The Greens in the West are an example of how these so-called nonformal movements can develop. I have had occasion to cooperate with them a great deal since they first arose and continuing to this day, particularly in the FRG, and I see that they have gained their prestige precisely because they started to rely more on science.

Taking what has been said into account, it would be desirable to focus attention on studies of the philosophical, political and legal aspects of the ecological development of our country and humanity as a whole, and on developing measures for ecological security. The new political thinking and new humanism must be joined together with the overall process of bringing universal human problems to the foreground, among which problems ecological security should take its place alongside the problem of achieving peace on earth.

### **Instead of Military Expenditures**

F. Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Environmental Protection Committee:

On the threshold of the third millennium, besides the threat of thermonuclear war, people are being confronted with ominous new facts: underground resources are being exhausted, the air and water are being polluted,

the soil is being degraded, and forests are dying. Global warming hangs over the planet like the sword of Damocles: the result of the ill-considered production activity of the world community. The disturbance of the "society-nature" balance is the pain of all humanity.

The existing ecological problems in the country are not solely attributable to the insufficient allocation and unsatisfactory utilization of funds for environmental protection. Scientists also bear a share of the blame for this. The employees of planning agencies, designers, and experts and inspectors with the environmental protection services still do not have scientifically substantiated norms for the permissible impact of basic and specific air pollutants on various types of forest vegetation. Yet more than 600,000 hectares of forests located within the zone of impact from the industrial discharges of ferrous-metallurgy, chemical and thermal-power enterprises are already in a state of complete or partial desiccation.

Scientists are well acquainted with the problem of the sturgeon as a valuable biological species that has fallen under the influence of yet- undetermined products of human activity. The report of Academician Yanshin that the level of the Caspian Sea will rise is encouraging. But the sturgeon there is already in a very grave condition. And if, God forbid, we should destroy it, Soviet people will not forgive us for it. And intelligent people abroad will not pass us the time of day.

The division of our country's territory into ecological geographical regions has not been carried out; doing so would make it possible to get an idea of the genetic diversity and actual and potential productivity of individual regions and of the degree of their vulnerability. These data are very important, in particular, for the correct adoption of decisions on the siting and development of productive forces, and the choice of ecologically acceptable technologies and maximum permissible production capacities. We also still lack integral indices for the quality of natural environments: the atmosphere, surface bodies of water, and the seas.

In accordance with party and government decisions, as of 1991 a system of imposing charges for natural resources and charges for the discharge of pollutants is supposed to be introduced. Normative charges, which are presently being worked out by the USSR State Environmental Protection Committee, will be conveyed to associations, enterprises and organizations as part of their long-term economic normative rates. Higher charges, the source of which will be a collective's cost-accounting-based income, will be imposed for exceeding permissible discharges of pollutants into the environment and accidental pollution.

But were are we and other countries to get more and more new money for environmental protection? I think that we should resolutely put an end to the situation in which an insignificantly small amount is spent on ecological work in the world in comparison to military appropriations.

According to the estimates of experts, military expenditures in the world come to over \$900 billion a year. Measures for restoring the tropical forests, those lungs of the planet, would cost \$1.3 billion a year over the course of five years. The implementation of the UN's plan to combat the spread of deserts would cost \$4.5 billion a year over the course of two decades. Such an acute problem as the shortage of clean water for domestic needs could be solved over the course of approximately 10 years with annual outlays of \$60 billion.

That is why the obvious conclusion emerges: money freed as the result of reducing military expenditures should become the main source of finances for solving environmental problems in all countries without exception. M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was a thousand times right when he proposed a plan for the conversion of military production at the 43rd Session of the UN General Assembly.

"To study, develop and propose for practical implementation"—those concepts are repeatedly encountered in the resolution adopted by the general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences. It stresses, in particular, that fundamental improvements in environmental protection and the rational utilization of natural resources can be achieved only on the basis of interrelated basic research in the natural, technical and social sciences. Therefore, for example, along with the development of the ecological bases of industrial and agricultural production, the projected program provides for the treatment of philosophical, general scientific and social problems related to the interaction of human beings and nature. In that unity lies the key to the future.

#### **River Diversion: Direction, Work of Water Problems Institute Questioned**

*18300207a Moscow OGONEK in Russian  
No 43, 22-29 Oct 88 p 5*

[Untitled commentary by G. Shupletsov]

[Text] Moscow—OGONEK No 40 for 1987 carried V. Leybovskiy's article "Irrevocably!" devoted mainly to the activity of the USSR Academy of Sciences Water Problems Institute and its director, G.V. Voropayev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in connection with the extensively bruited problem of the diversion of part of the flow of northern and Siberian rivers—the so-called "project of the century". The question of the responsibility of the leadership of the institute and the USSR Academy of Sciences Oceanology, Atmospheric Physics and Geography Department was raised by A.S. Monin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in the article "Stagnant Zones" (the journal NOVYY MIR No 7, 1988). The writer S. Zalygin wrote in the journal MOLODOY KOMMUNIST No 7 for 1988 the article "Ecology of Morality," which recalled once again that the most

important scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences had discovered in the diversion plans instances of falsification and artificial adjustment.

Did the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium not notice these articles, as it failed to notice other articles on this subject in the central press?

True, of the multitude of those raised, the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium did react to one question. On 3 July of this year the USSR Academy of Sciences Oceanology, Atmospheric Physics and Geography Department Bureau dismissed G.V. Voropayev as director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Water Problems Institute, but did so... "at his own request" and with expressions of thanks! The USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium confirmed this decision.

But there has been essentially no change in the Water Problems Institute. A competitive examination for the vacancy of director was formally announced. G.V. Voropayev expressed the opinion that his successor would continue the work he had started in the former spirit. So it will probably be inasmuch as the activity of G.V. Voropayev himself was commended with thanks.

Glasnost is needed not only to satisfy our curiosity but also to finally reveal the mistakes, violations of the rules of socialist justice, abuse and crimes. And, what is most important, to adopt on the basis of glasnost the most effective measures to rectify the mistakes which have been made. Unfortunately, we are far from this at times. An example is the case of the USSR Academy of Sciences Water Problems Institute.

In conclusion, about myself. I worked in the USSR Academy of Sciences Water Problems Institute from the time it was formed in 1968 through 1984 as head of a department and senior research fellow. From 1971 through 1979 I was secretary of the institute's party bureau.

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**Causes of Volga Fish Kills, Pollution Investigated**  
18300207b Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA  
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 8 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by Novomir Limonov: "Lost Instinct"]

[Text] Quite recently the eyes and ears of the whole world were trained on Alaska, where the "Admiral Makarov," shattering the ice, rescued the errant whales. From the Soviet side, an icebreaker and transport ship with full crew. One hundred rescue workers from America. Helicopters, tractors, space communications....

Human resources and millions in rubles and dollars—all for two whales? What was this—a nobility contest or prestige race? After all, the blue riband was competed for in living memory still—the harpoon guns of whichever country shot more of these very whales.

But perhaps these were the last whales, and there was repentance? Perhaps an idea expressed 400 years ago: "For I am involved in mankind so never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee" had finally reached us and everyone living on Earth?

This summer I. Mordvintsev, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondent for Astrakhan and Volgograd oblasts, reported: "On 14 June dead fish, mainly of the sturgeon species, began to surface in the zone of Akhtyubinskiy and Chernoyarskiy rayons on a stretch approximately 100 km long. Inert pike perch and sheatfish 'adorn' the banks not only of the Volgograd but also Saratov reservoirs."

The newspaper promised to keep readers informed as to the investigation of the culprits. Criminal proceedings were instituted right away, and Yuriy Kalmykov, investigator for particularly important cases of the Caspian Water Basin Procuracy, was put in charge.

...About 20 years ago I was standing with young Bulgarians on the dam of the Volga GES imeni XXII syezda KPSS, and our feet were of their own accord tapping in time with the powerful dynamics: "How at dawn the sirens (oh, the sirens!) on the Volga River (on the river) sing. There is on earth no wonder finer, this wonder is our construction site, high and wide."

We have now begun to understand increasingly much in the shady and residual economy, and inasmuch as a song always helps us build and live, it can today only be regretted that we did not have the sense to think up in time if only some tune in a major key extolling purification installations or in a minor key on the harm of chemical fertilizers. At that time, however, the attention of the Bulgarian Youth League members and the correspondent of a youth journal was bewitched by the magic of megawatts and lingered only for an instant on two or three fish floating belly up on the smooth surface.

Lingered and was forgotten for years, and it is only now, as I leaf through the documents assembled by the investigating team, that there once again surface in my memory these isolated fish, floating belly up....

As 20 years ago, one is struck by figures here also. The Volgograd Oblispolkom commission estimated the losses: sturgeon, white sturgeon and starred sturgeon on oblast territory had in June-July perished to the tune of R32.1 million. The Astrakhan commission determined upon a sum total also: R34.9 million.

What now to do with such losses? Police Lieutenant Sergey Dolinkin from Kalmykov's team hereupon gave me a brief explanation: "For a sterlet, just one even, you could get 2 years' imprisonment. I myself prepared such papers last year against S.K. Irgaliyev."

The office in which the investigators work is right on the Volga. Directly across from Golodnyy Island, which, until purification installations were built there, had been a place of recreation for the townspeople. It is now called poachers' island, only this definition is invested with a broader meaning.

My work table is piled up with papers, from which I see that with reference to the Volga even the word "alarm" sounds belated. You may develop photographs and look for new chemical compounds in the great Russian river. Only don't drink its water. And although in his lifetime investigator Kalmykov has unraveled many economic crimes, I fear that on this occasion his team will have to look for 100 needles in a 100 haystacks. The mother of Russian rivers flows through nine oblasts of our country, it has hundreds of tributaries large and small, and on its banks are thousands of enterprises with their waste and millions of hectares of land stuffed with "chemistry". Where to find the culprits now?

Volgograd's sewerage system has long been in need of modernization, and R36 million have been earmarked for this in the estimates. Planning and estimates documents have been drawn up as yet only for one-third of this amount, however. The "Kaustik" Production Association drew up estimates for the production of hydrochloric acid from waste gas: R1.4 million. Only R400,000 have been assimilated. Volgograd's are breathing the million "saved". More than R11 million were spent by the "Khimprom" Association on the construction of its own purification installations. They have now been temporarily closed down—industrial and domestic effluent is discharged into the Volga untreated.

And we might conclude this random list with the following figure. Operation of the water and sewerage systems brings in the city each year R10 million, but since the day purification installations were inaugurated on Golodnyy Island in 1975 (built in the very center of the sturgeon's spawning ground, incidentally) the gorispolkom has allocated for their maintenance and modernization, as Kalmykov discovered and informed me, not one kopeck.

We may now by way of two operations of arithmetic compare both groups of figures. Those mentioned at the start of the article—on the death of the fish—and the figures of this "saving". And weigh them in the balance anew. They all, incidentally, lie in one cup—of the most profound immorality and irresponsibility before those who will live in the world after us.

Everyone draws dividends from the Volga. The enterprise urges on priority smelting and presents pennants to production pacesetters. The poacher, with a glance at the waste floating along the river, rips open the sturgeon's belly. The Volga alone is impotent and defenseless.

When one reads various documents written by different people in connection with the mass loss of fish, the seams of all the defects which have settled over the years in our economy and morality are revealed, as it were, layer by layer. To cheerful promises "our sun will catch fire in both the capitals and the villages" more than one power station was built. Millions of fertile hectares and towns and villages "without a future" were swept from the face of the Earth and the progress of age-old natural processes was disrupted. And when the "sun caught fire," there appeared before our eyes a catastrophe, only not caused all together, as was the case in Chernobyl, but slowly and in planned manner. And the fish, driven by the call to continue the species, would surge toward the upper reaches, passing in the environment of their habitat through all of Mendeleyev's Table, and be cut to pieces against the turbines.

Such is the result of the System, which took shape over years. The job of tackling general questions, leaving no time for individual trifles, is most likely already coded in our genes now. Back in the 1960's ichthyologists were warning: following the spanning of the Volga with the dam at Volgograd there will be a sharp reduction in the sturgeons' spawning grounds. The fish were already living with signs of leucocytosis and leukopenia, and one out of every 10 was dying. But who listened to ichthyologists, these retrogrades attempting to throw wrenches in the works of S&T progress. But now life barely glimmers in the befuddled consciousness of the sturgeon. It is sick with human ailments. Approximately 20 organochlorine compounds have been deciphered in its organism, its blood contains insufficient hemoglobin, white blood corpuscles and red blood corpuscles, and the fish is pregnant not with roe but rather that same Mendeleyev's Table.

And one can only marvel at the powerful instinct embedded in our lesser brethren. In one-third of the females who came to spawn in the dam zone the roe no longer has progeny, and yet still they come, drawn by the call, which is stronger than death.

To judge by everything, of everything living on Earth, loss of instinct of continuation of the race is typical only of man. Man who has thought: "it'll last our our time" and "after us, to hell with it". And this loss of an age-old instinct has been acquired, if measured by nature's scale, in an instant, for us, however, children of the era, by many years of the System of Power Management of the economy. When achievements in spiritual life have been measured by tons of pig iron and steel per human soul. When the concept that man is a cog in the common system of our economic and political mechanism and that he may always be replaced by another cog was born.

And when I learn that last year 32,000 tons of nitrates, 591,000 tons of suspended matter, that is, various unanalyzable trash, 29,000 tons of petroleum products, 7,300 tons of lather and 313,000 tons of carboric acid were discharged into the Caspian, I see that educated

man is far more stupid than the stupid fish in its concern for its progeny. And if a people's moral attributes could be expressed in figures, the adduced figures would surely astound by their immorality the inhabitants of the Biblical Sodom and Gomorrah, who were swept from the face of the Earth for their amoral status.

The universal chowder cooked this summer in the great Russian river evokes the following thoughts.

People's bright future is barely discernible through the haze of smog hanging over the planet. Not everyone knows precisely what an active solar year promises us and when the next hurricane will sweep over the Kuriles or Cape Horn. On the other hand we are taking chemical fertilizers together with our food and are afraid that there may be too much of them. I now know the following word: resorption. This is when the roe produces no progeny. And as I write these notes there are on the television channels no less than three ecology programs a day. The world has come to its senses, as it were, and is feverishly fondling everything living. People have built the "Foundation Pit" and are now running from it for a gulp of fresh air somewhere near three birch trees. And it is only now that we understand how little thought we have given to those who will come after us.

We have, on the other hand, fostered a perfectly particular type of individual, who can shout "hurrah" while floundering and choking in his own impurities. He, this homunculus, emerged in a retort or, in the "Foundation Pit," if you like, where processes of petty politicking, ambition and careerism seethe and boil. Where there are no eternal truths and priorities—only for the moment—and subsequently—in accordance with the "to hell with it" plan. And if, indeed, as they maintain, in the beginning was the word, he, this homunculus, pops up into God's world with ready-made formulas.

Take a listen: "Certain work has been done to enhance the efficiency of the purification of effluent. This will make it possible, in the main, to sustain the rates determined by the engineering regulations. At the same time there are serious shortcomings...." I have not invented this but copied it from a resolution of the Volgograd Oblispolkom Housing and Municipal Economy Administration Board of 13 May 1988—exactly a month later shoals of fish began to surface belly up.

They surfaced this summer. But last year the leaders of the oblast Housing and Municipal Economy Administration awarded themselves a bonus of R2,800, and the leadership of city's Water and Sewerage Administration, R3,300, and of the oblast Water and Sewerage Administration, R1,860, for high financial and production indicators, given total disregard for the environment. As per usual now. A person does not do himself down. And gets out of circumstances also with his innate energy.

The commission for analyzing the causes of the loss of the fish set up in Volgograd, it is reckoned, was selected from competent and objective specialists. This is what it writes: the qualitative condition of the waters on oblast territory was, in the main, at last year's level, and the quantity of pesticides, nitrates and everything else that is most destructive is not, it transpires, in excess of the maximum permissible concentration. Reference is made here to the official standard for 1984. The standards are changed every 5 years—not to the benefit of the Volga and other of our rivers.

The Astrakhan commission maintains that the reason for the poisoning of the fish is the effluent from industrial enterprises, with which Volgograd Oblast is larded. The Volgograd people say in response: the fish were prepared for their death by the wintering conditions in the Caspian (see the concentration therein of all kinds of trash cited above) and arrived for spawning in the area of the hydropower station already depleted and sick. In the same documents, however: the fish should not be eaten in Saratov but in Volgograd, apparently, they may be. As if the free fish will wait where we determine for it a place in the frying plan. Incidentally, the Ministry of Health also changes in its standards from year to year its views on the content in the fish of heavy metal salts and toxic chemicals. Specifically, the presence of mercury also is now being admitted. Accustom yourself, man, to your habitat! It would be interesting to just take a peek at the food standards of 1913, if such existed, of that same year which we are accustomed to euphorically dating as the start of our people's well-being.

One thing is clear to me, however: for many years there was around the Volga ecological pillaging of exceptional proportions, now, however, there is an immense delegating of responsibility.

If we look at the events merely through the eyes of a lawyer and call upon specific persons to disentangle the summer chowder, I fear that article 223 of the RSFSR Criminal Code "Pollution of Bodies of Water and the Air" would not be enough for them, nor is it that strict. No legislator could have envisaged that frequent individual instances of negligence, sloppiness, neglect of one's duties and corporate interest, merging in a single stream, would as a result produce a crime whose effect would be felt by near and remote generations of the human race. It is in this case to be regretted that the article providing for imprisonment for a term of up to 5 years remained for many years inactive. And we know why.

The moral basis of the little man who was born in the laboratories of our Administrative and Economic System was always: it will see out my time. It could not have been otherwise inasmuch as he had no motherland but most likely did have a fatherland. A father's hand has its own laws of upbringing. We recall the images of the newsreel. The brand-new "Chelyuskin" is going for the record: the northern passage nonstop, and when it fails,

the whole country rescues the participants in the expedition, and the first heroes of the Soviet Union titles are bestowed on seven airmen. But behind the image: in the same Arctic latitudes, only a little more southerly, timber was being felled for caskets and barracks, and millions of people were being driven quietly and in planned manner into the camps—life's roads in the permafrost are packed with human bones. For many years we were seemingly unaware of this, and it is only now that in our awoken consciousness the winnings and losings, restored and effective priorities and gains and losses are being weighed. We ourselves are being given short measure, it transpires, in the scales of the history which we have made. And will gather a recurrent harvest of that same grain which we sowed.

And for a long time to come there will loom over the majority the danger of the unraveling of the consequences of the crimes of a minority. As long as the Administrative System cultivating its little men operates. Here is just one example reinforcing what has been said. L. Polyaninov, chief engineer of the Nizhnevolzhsk Basin Territorial Administration for Regulation of the Use and Protection of Waters of the RSFSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources (simply put, of the basin inspectorate), was in 1975 a member of the commission for the acceptance of purification installations on Golodnyy Island. Consequently, the Volga is obliged to him also for its sorry fate. It has in this time fallen into decay and become impoverished, but this has in no way been reflected in Leonid Yakovlevich's personal career. Quite the reverse, rather. He became chief of the administration, and after investigator Kalmykov's team had embarked on its particularly important business, Polyaninov was confirmed in a new office. He is now chairman of the oblast Nature-Protection Committee. In an interview with the newspaper VECHERNYY VOLGOGRAD he spoke as follows: "The time has come to ultimately give some thought to our future, to our children's future."

Very good words, only placed in the wrong mouth. Their shamelessness and emptiness will, possibly, be noticed by Yuriy Zinovyevich Kalmykov when he writes up his criminal information. I, however, have quoted them here as a particular example: it is difficult for the Administrative System to part with the people it has pampered. I fear that it will, for all that, see out the age of the Volga. And longer....

How at dawn the sirens on the Volga River sing.

#### **Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Acts on Urgent Environmental Issues**

18300110a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
7 Sep 88 p 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "At the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] As has already been reported, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has analyzed environmental protection problems in the republic. The decree adopted

pointed out that the public has good reason for displaying deep concern over the extremely unfavorable situation in the area of environmental protection. Scientists and representatives of creative organizations and the press have raised a whole series of problems requiring urgent solution, expressed their ideas concerning industrial and energy installations that are the main sources of pollution for the republic's reservoirs and air, and demanded that their negative effect on nature be eliminated. During the meetings that the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring organized in different republic cities and settlements and during ecological protest marches, a resolution arrived in the Presidium from a meeting held near the confluence of the Nyamunasa and Neris rivers. It contained serious criticism addressed to union departments and republic and local management bodies who had adopted irresponsible decisions dictated by monetary benefit. These have caused incalculable damage to reservoirs, the atmosphere, forests, and soil.

The republic's government and the councils of peoples deputies are taking concrete steps to eliminate the complicated ecological situation and stop similar negative phenomena in the future. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers have commissioned the State Committee for the Protection of Nature, the Academy of Sciences and several ministries and departments to develop a program immediately for protecting the Nyamunas River basin from pollution. A joint session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet's Permanent Commissions for the Agroindustrial Complex, Science and Technology, and Protection of Nature gave a highly-principled evaluation of the ecological situation that has taken shape in the republic and that was caused by the intensification of agricultural production. The meeting developed concrete recommendations. The public has begun to be informed about the status of pollution in the republic's atmosphere and reservoirs.

The decree states that, despite the efforts that have been recently made in this direction, the public's alarm has a real basis. The ecological situation, which has taken shape, requires the adoption of urgent measures since the complex plan for protecting the Lithuanian SSR's environment, which was developed for the period out to the year 2000, is not being implemented rapidly enough. Only 91 percent of the 59.9 million rubles of capital investments intended for environmental protection and the efficient use of natural resources were expended during 1986-1987. A total of 51 million rubles have been allocated for these purposes during the current year; however, only 37 percent of the planned annual program has been assimilated during the first six months of the year. We have not managed to overcome ministry inertia and a departmental approach or to combine harmoniously the interests of the republic's national economic development and those of environmental protection in all cases. Transitory interests are also guiding the actions of several local industrial enterprises, construction and transport organizations and agroindustrial complex



subunits. Meanwhile, the departments, which are supervising law enforcement bodies and the observance of environmental protection laws, are not being exacting on violators and do not always apply the sanctions provided by law regarding them.

It was pointed out that rayon, city, settlement, and district (apilinkovyy) councils of peoples deputies and their permanent commissions and executive committees are not exercising sufficiently strict control over the implementation of Lithuanian SSR environmental protection laws.

The formation of the population's ecological standards, their consciousness and their sense of responsibility for the future character of their kray lacks persuasiveness.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium charged the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers with taking additional steps to suppress the future construction and expansion of industrial, power and other national economic projects that are harmful from an ecological viewpoint. It is necessary to determine the priority work avenues in strengthening environmental protection with a consideration for the actually existing material and labor resources so as to reduce to a minimum and gradually completely eliminate the pollution of reservoirs and the atmosphere. It is necessary to ratify in a very short time a statute concerning a reserve fund for the environmental protection of the Lithuanian SSR and to outline more effective ways for using the accumulated assets. It is extremely important to achieve in every way possible an acceleration in the designing and construction of water cleansing works in Kaunas.

Supreme Soviet sessions and the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers plan to review the most important problems in the construction and operation of national economic projects, having first acquainted the broad public with them in accordance with the Lithuanian SSR law "On a National Discussion of Important Matters of State Life."

The presidium approved the 16 June 1988 decision of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Permanent Commissions for the Agroindustrial Complex, Science and Technology, and Protection of Nature entitled "On the Ecological Situation in Connection With the Intensification of Agricultural Production." The Lithuanian SSR Gosagroprom, ministries, departments, production associations, enterprises, and farms have been required to insure the efficient operation of purification works, strict observance of technological discipline and environmental protection standards and rules, and the accelerated introduction of waste-free technologies. The decree required that the lagging behind in constructing environmental protection projects be eliminated and that other measures, which contribute to reducing the entry of pollutants into the environment, be taken.

It was recommended that the republic's councils of peoples deputies and their executive bodies concentrate their attention on questions connected with improving environmental protection, exercise strict control over the progress in implementing laws that have been adopted, and provide a highly-principled appraisal of each case of their violation. The deputies have been charged to direct their attention toward the solution of ecological problems.

Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies must carefully analyze which of the ecological problems are the most urgent for their election districts and see to the participation of labor collectives and the public in their solution; introduce, when necessary, appropriate proposals in the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, its permanent commissions, its Presidium, the Council of Ministers, ministries, and departments; and make use of their constitutional right to investigate.

The Presidium has required the Lithuanian SSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature to improve the performance of its functions and to make fuller use of the authority granted to it in the area of monitoring how ministries and departments and the enterprises and farms subordinate to them are observing environmental protection laws and environmental protection standards and rules. They plan to hear an informational report on the work being done in this area during the August 1989 session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Lithuanian SSR Procurator's Office has been commissioned to implement procurator's supervision more consistently and resolutely in the area of monitoring the implementation of environmental protection laws. It is necessary to examine with special attention the public's reports about violations of these laws and to insure the institution of criminal or administrative proceedings against all officials and citizens who ignore the laws, and to see to the complete reimbursement of the losses caused by them.

It was recommended that the Lithuanian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and republic and local press agencies deal with the condition of environmental protection activity in the republic more broadly and deeply and make known those directly guilty of polluting the atmosphere, reservoirs and soil and the destroyers of nature. It is necessary to improve the publicizing of environmental protection, form in the public a civic understanding of the importance of protecting natural riches, and systematically inform the population of objective data concerning the contamination of the atmosphere, reservoirs and soil.



**ESSR: Ecological Concerns of Pribaltiyskaya  
GRES Modernization Plan**

*18300110b Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 2 Aug 88 p 2*

chief in the All-Union Heat Engineering Scientific Research Institute imeni F. Dzerzhinskiy and doctor of technical sciences: "Modernization and Ecology"]

[Text] Industrial ecological problems have recently become aggravated in a number of the country's regions, including Estonia. These problems have not been invented and have not risen from "nothing", but have resulted from the fact that environmental protection requirements were not clearly formulated and considered to the required degree during the construction and operation of industrial enterprises over the course of several decades. A number of "hot spots" have appeared on the country's map. Narva, near which are located several enterprises, including two large thermal power stations using local oil shale—the Pribaltiyskaya and Estonskaya GRES [State Regional Electric Power Stations], is one of them.

According to the plan developed by the Teploelektroproyekt Institute, they plan to reconstruct the Pribaltiyskaya GRES by building a fifth phase with four new power-generating units having a rating of 210 megavolts each with the simultaneous disassembly of 12 old first-, second-, and third-phase boilers. In other words, the planned reconstruction of the Pribaltiyskaya GRES, for which more than 300 million rubles of state allocations have been allotted, means—at one and the same time—its expansion, re-equipping and, in a number of aspects, the full-scale modernization of an enterprise that has been in service for approximately 30 years. The mentioned plan, more accurately its ecological level and the degree of its perfection, has also served as a peculiar detonator—a sharp discussion, in which a number of scientists and the broad public have actively participated, has arisen in the republic. One can briefly formulate the essence of the discussion in the following manner: Based on ecological considerations, is it necessary to implement the above-mentioned project? And, if it is advisable, then under what conditions? I had occasion to participate in the special meetings on this question and also in the Narva public meeting that was held on 5 May of this year. I would like to share my thoughts on this matter with the readers of SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA.

World experience shows that the overall condition of the environment and the degree of its purity in any large industrial region are mainly determined by the action of a comparatively narrow group of national economic technological branches that mine, process or consume the major amount of natural resources used. This narrow group includes fuel and energy complex enterprises, including thermal electric power stations (TES). That is why environmental protection sections have been incorporated in plans for the construction of new and the modernization of existing TES, why expenditures for measures to protect the atmosphere and natural water

reservoirs have grown, and why not only the economic, but also the undoubted social direction of these measures are being recognized more and more.

From this point of view, oil shale power stations deserve special attention since the low-grade fuel used by them is one of the most difficult both with respect to operating a TES and from an ecological viewpoint.

One can state with complete justification that proximity to the world level, that is, to the level actually achieved in the United States, Japan, the FRG, and several other industrially developed countries during the past 15-20 years, is the most convincing criteria for the sufficiency of environmental protection measures in the power generation industry and in any other branch of industry. These countries have established strict standards for the specific emission of pollutants into the atmosphere in order to limit the harmful effect of sulfur oxides, fly ash and nitrogen oxides, which are present in TES flue gases, on the environment. These standards represent the permissible amount of emissions of the mentioned substances per unit of burned fuel, per developed kilowatt hour of electricity or per cubic meter of emitted gases.

This experience testifies that even large TES usually confine themselves to the established purity norms (PDK) for the atmosphere if the amounts of the mentioned specific emissions are sustained during operation. Thanks to the controlled severity of these specific norms which rely on the use of dust and gas cleansers that have been developed, an increase in the production of electricity with a simultaneously decrease in the amounts of emissions is being assured in many cases. Coal-fired power plants themselves are becoming one of the cleanest production facilities when compared to many other types of industrial technologies.

In order to conform to the achieved world level and to modern ecological requirements, the specific emissions of the new power units, which are being installed in the Pribaltiyskaya GRES to replace the old boilers that are being disassembled, should not exceed 600 milligrams of sulfur oxides per cubic meter, 200 milligrams of nitrogen oxides per cubic meter and 150 milligrams of fly ash per cubic meter. This means that the specific emission of substances in the units being built must be sharply reduced in accordance with the plan when compared with the Pribaltiyskaya GRES boilers being disassembled—approximately 8-10-fold for fly ash and 2.5-3-fold for sulfur oxides. It is also necessary to insure a substantial reduction in emissions by modernizing that part of the GRES which will still be operated for a number of years. With such an approach, the ecological advantages of the reconstruction will become extremely tangible.

In order to reach the world level for specific emissions of ash and sulfur oxides, it is necessary to solve a number of scientific technical and organizational technical tasks. Their solution is impossible without making maximum

use of the valuable experience of Estonian power engineers and the republic's wide circle of scientists and specialists in developing the first large TES in the world which operate on local oil-shale fuel.

Preliminary estimates show that the power-generating units being built and, in the future, existing ones must be equipped with six-stage electrostatic precipitators especially designed for this purpose in order to assure dependable ash collection at the required level. In this regard, it is advisable to equip all electrostatic precipitators with the readiness systems that have been developed by VTE [All-Union Heat Engineering Institute] in cooperation with the Pribaltiyskaya GRES. These permit the duration of work or downtime of each electric pole in the set and its actual operating parameters to be automatically recorded and the overall efficiency of the electrostatic precipitators to be approximately estimated. It is also necessary to shift to more improved burner assemblies that would permit fuel oil to be reliably burned without soot formation during boiler ignition.

Reducing the specific sulfur oxide emissions to the world level is not a simple task. However, this problem can be solved using, in particular, the work of the Estonglavenergo [Estonian Main Power Administration] and the VTI imeni F. Dzerzhinskiy.

In order to carry out such a large scientific, technical and ecological "action" in a comparatively short time, it is advisable for Estonglavenergo to proceed in every possible way toward intensifying its work, including the establishment of temporary collectives, additional economic incentives for all participants, the organization of cooperation with foreign firms, etc. In this organizational question, it is extremely important that the efforts of Estonglavenergo, which are filled with initiative, be backed by the active help and support of the republic's government, its Gosplan, and the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification.

The ecological modernization of oil shale TES will be truly effective only when those branches that supply equipment such as the power plant industry (boilers), chemical machine building (dust and gas cleansing equipment), instrument making, emission monitoring) are actively involved in this important task. An important meeting on the problems of expanding machine building, which was held in April 1988 in the CPSU Central Committee, clearly formulated, in particular, the ecological requirements for boilers being delivered to TES. The essence of these requirements consists of compact equipment with dust and gas cleansers and other systems for protecting the atmosphere. A distinctive type of new ecological thinking is being shown in this. It is based on an integrated approach to the solution of environmental protection problems. Meanwhile, in this specific case with its numerous discussions of ecological questions concerning the plan for reconstructing the Pribaltiyskaya GRES, including a Narva public

meeting, there was not a single scientist from the above-mentioned ministries and appropriate branch institutes; generally speaking, there were no specialists from the branches delivering equipment. Unfortunately, this important aspect practically escaped the attention of the public and the leading bodies of the republic and was poorly taken up in the press.

Thanks to the debates and discussions that were held, the avenues for improving the plan for the fifth phase of the Pribaltiyskaya GRES were defined concretely. The need for the general designer to develop a special environmental protection TER (technical and economic estimate) for the modernization of the Estonskaya GRES also became evident.

There is another positive result from the debates that took place. Thanks to them, the specialists, the public, and the party and soviet workers of the republic and the city of Narva became better aware that the environmental protection problems of both a large and a small region can be effectively solved only by developing integrated territorial plans that provide for improving the ecological indicators of all enterprises and branches included in the region. In this regard, the collectives of technological works of all types, including motor transport, and not only the power engineers, must set in front of themselves the bold task of moving to the world ecological level. Let all of them compete—with the help of the public—between themselves regarding who will make this ecological jump first. Mankind and nature will only win from this.

In conclusion, returning to the question posed at the beginning of this article, one can say that the planned reconstruction of oil shale power stations is the only real path to their ecological modernization. This modernization must be carried out as thoroughly as possible; the course toward the realization of a number of important environmental protection measures is irreversible. It is possible to achieve this result, which is beneficial for the population, by organizing and coordinating the efforts of a wide circle of scientists and specialists, by using the valuable experience and professionalism of Estonian power engineers and by relying on the republic's overall high standards.

#### **Pollution, Morbidity Figures Cited in Latvian Environmental Crisis**

*18300110c Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH  
in Russian 17 Aug 88 pp 1-3*

[Article by A. Umbras: "A Zone of Special Attention"]

[Text] This is what ecological problems were called during the 19th All-Union Party Conference. For humanity, they have indeed become questions concerning the defense of the world. The environmental protection movement is now acquiring a truly national character.

A. Umbras, a construction engineer by profession, has become famous during recent years among a wide circle of nature's defenders for his passionate articles on the ecological situation in Yurmala. In his view, the measures, which are being taken to restore the ecological balance in this unique corner of nature, are clearly insufficient. The author writes about this in his article, suggesting a constructive program at the same time.

**LATINFORM** asked Professor K. Segleniyetse, chief of the social hygiene and health care organization department of RMI [expansion unknown] and T. Baranova, **LRSPS** [Latvian Republic Trade Unions Council] secretary, to comment on the article.

Who does not know or has not heard about Yurmala? Today, side by side with the word "Yurmala" we are more and more frequently hearing: "They are degrading valuable resort territory; it is an ecological catastrophe."

Diseases have stricken 70 percent of its forests. The dune zone—an object of special state protection that we must preserve for our descendants—is being trampled down and rapidly built on. Areas of polluted ground water, the only and extremely limited source of water for the resort, have already been detected.

Bacterial contamination of the Lielupe River and the Riga coastal waters is growing catastrophically quickly. The coliform index (the number of bacteria in a liter of water) in the river is consistently at a level of 240,000, reaching 500,000 and more during the summer. It has already been six years since the river was closed to swimming. The index was 40,000 in the coastal waters during the summer of last year; it was 23,000 in April of this year. Swimming is allowed if the coliform index does not exceed 1,000. The pollution of the bay approximately doubles annually.

Who are the polluters? Let us turn to the statistics. Last year, all of Riga discharged 168.2 million cubic meters of completely untreated and insufficiently treated water into the Daugava. The Slokskiy TsBZ [Cellulose Paper Plant] discharges 25.6 million cubic meters of such water into the Lielupe River; Yelgava—9.4 million cubic meters; Olaine—6.74 million cubic meters; and Bauska—1.48 million cubic meters. Riga's sewers have 104,000 tons of pollutants (petroleum products, organic products, salts that dissolve in water—phosphates, sulfates, nitrates, etc.). Sloka's—38,800 tons; Yelgava's—8,900 tons; Olaine's—4,800 tons; and Bauska's—700 tons. As we see, the Slokskiy TsBZ is far from being a dwarf. It discharges up to 2,500 tons of toxic gas into the air a year and sends up to 150,000 tons of waste to the city's territory—to a dump in the second medical zone of the Kemer resort—a pile also rather polluted.

Increased environmental pollution, which is not inscribed in any norms, is taking place. What is happening in the Gulf of Riga? To a highly productive water reservoir of the first category? According to BaltNIIRKh

[Baltic Scientific Research Institute for Fishing], the annual catch (basically, of valuable species—herring, sprat, eels, and pike perch) has fallen from 90,000 tons to 30,000 tons during the last 20 years. Our food counters have "grown thin" by 50 million rubles.

The richest underwater meadows and spawning grounds have been reduced by 80 percent during the last 20 years. The enormous amounts of pollutants are doing their work. They are removing the dissolved oxygen from the water and killing useful microorganisms, zooplankton and fodder water-plants. In return, viruses, harmful bacteria and fungi, and toxic bluish-green water plants are developing. Roe are perishing and fish larvae are dying. A lifeless bottom is appearing.

Let us compare: The fish catch in the Aral Sea—when it flourished—was 35,000-40,000 tons although it is fourfold larger in area. We are losing two Aral Seas in the Gulf of Riga. Divers tell us that roe lie on the gulf's bottom in clusters. Only they are covered with a white coating—they have been stricken with a fungus. A sea of dead roe is a terrible picture. Roe need clean water and oxygen and not lignen sulfates.

Why does the Latvian SSR Nature Museum not have a model of today's lifeless gulf bottom?

The main sources of pollution are known—Riga and the Slokskiy TsBZ. The plant discharges 35,800 tons of pollutants a year with its run-off into the Lielupe River—98 tons (in dry weight) a day. Is this a lot or a little? In my opinion, even the non-specialist is horrified especially when he sees the discharge site—a cloudy black river with soap suds. All of this gradually settles to the bottom of the river and gulf—hundreds of thousands of tons of harmful and decomposing silt that will kill life for many years in the future.

The Yurmala gorispolkom and the Latvian SSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and Ministry of Health have established surprisingly preferential work conditions for the plant. Let us compare: After a complete reconstruction (it will require another 30-40 million rubles), they will permit it—according to the plan—to discharge into the river water with pollutants that exceed threefold the all-union norms for ordinary rivers in city boundaries. They have condemned the river in advance. Today, because the reconstruction is not completed, favorable norms, which are fivefold higher than the union ones, have been established "as an exception in the interests of the workers" at the request of the ministries—and they systematically overstate those: The plant paid 272,000 rubles in fines in 1987 because of suits brought against it.

For what national economic interests are the Gulf of Riga and the Lielupe River dying? For the sake of a savings of 20 million rubles in cleansing structures in Riga? For the sake of a profit of 3.5 million rubles in the Slokskiy TsBZ? Or for the sake of increasing the per

capita paper production indicator by 340 (!) grams—and paper of a low grade at that? Paper—that is the standard. However, can a country, which destroys a priceless condition for the sake of 340 grams, be a cultured one?

Things are bad for fish at the resort. But how about for people? According to Latvian SSR State Committee for Statistics data, 955 cancer patients were recorded per 100,000 people in Yurmala in 1975; 1,489—in 1980; and 1,798—in 1985. In Riga, the figures were 1,076, 1,344 and 1,556, respectively. A total of 258 people died of cancer in Yurmala during 1986; and 192—in Riga. During 1986, the inhabitants of Yurmala came down sick more frequently than the people of Riga: with scarlet fever by a factor of 1.9 (352 and 184 people), German measles by a factor of 2.15 (689 and 321 people), chicken pox by a factor of 1.3 (1,016 and 789 people), and mumps by a factor of 2.8 (126 and 44 people).

There are many tables. Yurmala shares first or second place with Riga in practically all diseases. In many diseases—chronic bronchitis, dermatitis, ulcer diseases, sugar diabetes, and infectious and oncological diseases—it has overtaken Riga and moved into first place in the republic, leaving Liepaja, Ventspils and Olaine far behind.

These data are being published for the first time—not because they were some kind of state secret. It was simply that individual leaders did not find this necessary based on “the interests of the workers.” Statistics are a delicate instrument for knowing the world and, at the same time, a powerful weapon for its transformation and for correct planning. Why is it rusting?

Why are there still no cleansing structures in Riga although they began to plan them in 1971? They are in the fifth year of building the first phase rated at 350,000 cubic meters a day and they have assimilated only half of the 38.8 million rubles for construction and installation. Let us compare—today, the state construction and installation organizations in the republic are performing work valued at 80 million rubles a month.

Such projects can be built in three years or fifteen: It will depend on the plan, time frames set, financing, and supply of materials and people. Why did the Latvian SSR Gosplan set a commissioning time for the first phase at the end of 1991? Today, Riga already discharges 460,000 cubic meters of sewerage a day.) At the same time, this five-year plan has unusually high amounts for commissioning industrial projects and housing in Riga. Additional untreated discharges will enter the gulf.

When one poses the goal of explaining the reasons for nature's degradation in Yurmala, then, traveling along the chain, you will encounter a curious phenomenon. During the last 20 years, the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers has adopted more than ten decrees aimed at preserving nature in the resort area: On redirecting the Slokskiy TsBZ toward imported cellulose, on reclaiming woodland territory, on

constructing cleansing structures on the Lielupe, on banning industrial activity in the resort area, on preserving the dune zone, on centralizing the supply of heat and eliminating small boiler-houses, etc. Fine decrees—but not a single one has been implemented.

One can be astonished at the complete ineffectiveness of the environmental protection laws and the USSR Council of Ministers decrees concerning the resort area and be indignant at the activity directly aimed against these decrees. You will see the absence of logic in some of the decisions by responsible leaders—how they cut out very needed environmental protection projects from the plan and allocate millions for third-rate ones and frequently absurd ones. You will see indifference and irresponsibility but you will not find a proprietor in Yurmala. It has been ten years since the Latvian Council of Ministers appointed the Yurmala ispolkom to be the single client for the construction of engineer networks and other urban installations. There have already been four mayors during these years, but no one has wanted to become the single proprietor. No one can decide what Yurmala is—a resort area or an industrial zone? On the average, the Latvian SSR Gosplan allocates three million rubles a year to expand industrial enterprises that are absolutely not connected with the activity of the resort area.

What is perhaps most surprising is that not a single session of the Yurmala City Council of Peoples Deputies has been held for many years and there has been no gorkom plenum on Yurmala's ecological problems.

The situation in Yurmala is very alarming. Several scientists think that an irreversible process has begun—an ecological catastrophe. A narrow strip of land surrounded by water teeming with bacteria is no joke. It is the threat of contaminated soil and underground water; it is the threat of new diseases and epidemics.

How do those, who can be called proprietors of the resort area based on their positions, evaluate the situation? Let us quote them from articles that appeared this year in the republic's press.

A. K. Lapshin, ispolkom chairman: “It is not necessary to dramatize the situation unnecessarily. The pollution of the Lielupe River exceeds the norm 10-20-fold, but not a hundredfold.” V. A. Dzebalis, his first deputy: “Today the ispolkom has a well-thought out and sound action program and is master of the situation.” V. Ye. Derkach, Latvian SSR first deputy minister of health and chief state medical doctor: “One cannot say that there is an ecological catastrophe in Yurmala. The overall morbidity level of the resort city's population is 34.7 percent lower than Riga's. It does not stand out against the general background of oncological diseases.”

Everything is good. Is that not why M. L. Raman, chairman of the republic's Gosplan, is so calm and is postponing the allocation of resources for environmental protection installations to the far future?

The social activity of the masses has grown during recent months. Articles on ecological subjects have increased. Commissions are working and meetings and "round tables" are being held. Three films about Yurmala's troubles have been made during the past ten months and a fourth is being filmed. Two conferences of television viewers, which were broadcast live, were held on ecological problems in April. This would have been unthinkable a year ago.

This, however, is not very much. None of the directors have spoken up and said whether Yurmala and the Gulf of Riga will be saved and in what year swimming will be permitted.

What has changed? A USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry Commission has protected the Slokskiy TsBZ from closing, having persuaded Latvia's leaders to preserve the "status quo" another four years. True, they have promised that, if the plant is not cleaned up by September 1991, they will review (!) the question of shifting to imported cellulose. The current five-year plan does not provide for the commissioning of a single group boiler house in Yurmala; small boiler houses will be constructed.

And so, dirty discharges will enter the gulf for another four years. What will happen during these years? Undoubtedly, some of those, who decided this, will retire. But what about the gulf? Will the unfortunate hectares of underwater pastures and spawning grounds, which still remain alive, last? And how about Yurmala's pine trees?

We have underestimated the strength of the bureaucracy. Evidently understanding this, an informal association to protect the environment conducted a protest demonstration on the plant's territory. But what next?

We have begun to criticize more, especially in the central press; and the words "it is necessary" are being repeated more and more frequently. However, we do not see concrete proposals: Who must do what and when to eliminate the negative phenomenon.

I would like to propose that the Latvian SSR Gosplan and Council of Ministers adopt the following ecological strategy:

Set the time for the start of the first phase of the cleansing structures on the Bullyupe—June 1990—and begin to receive sewerage from Yurmala first; complete all water and waste-water disposal systems in Yelgava and Yurmala and the cleansing structures in Olaine and Bauska in 1989 (these proposals by the author coincide with a decision of the republic's council of ministers—editor's comment); begin the construction of group

boiler rooms in Yurmala in 1989 in accordance with an approved schedule; ban the construction of small boiler houses; begin this year and complete next year the removal of cellulose and paper silt from the Lielupe river-bed; immediately cease the boiling of cellulose at the Slokskiy TsBZ; and decrease the plan for paper production by 50 percent to accomplish this.

Undoubtedly, it is necessary to put an end to collective irresponsibility. Someone personally responsible for preserving the Gulf of Riga and Yurmala and for the construction of cleansing structures must be appointed in the Council of Ministers.

The proposed plan is a simple one. It requires that capital investments in an amount of no more than one percent taken from juncture projects that no one needs today be redirected during the remaining three years of the five-year plan. The country will not notice it. Perhaps, two-three department directors will take offense for a short while.

If Gosplan rejects this plan, it should give its own one that without fail protects the gulf of Riga and the Yurmala resort area from destruction. No State Committee for Protection of Nature will save them if Gosplan deletes environmental protection projects and measures.

Can Latvia itself solve these problems or who should come and help? Of course it can, but it is necessary to change one's thinking and the planning system to do it. Glasnost and democratization are necessary conditions for this. Each inhabitant of Latvia should know the true state of affairs. It is necessary to introduce competitive elections for all those who are concerned with protecting the environment and begin regular reporting by them on the work they have done and on their positions in the press, at meetings, on television, and during "round tables" in the editorial boards of newspapers.

We also should not forget that the preservation of Latvia's unique natural conditions will play a large role in strengthening international relations. This is a common task and a common pain. This is a check of sincerity.

Our country is enormous, but the territory possessing clearly expressed natural therapeutic factors is small—thousandths of a percent. However, we hear and see that it is in these small rich oases that gosplans are "planting" plants and factories—especially chemical ones—with surprising stubbornness. Nearby, land of little value lies empty.

Industry is not innocuous. Undoubtedly, the Slokskiy TsBZ will be closed—its absurdity is too evident. This, however, is only a half measure. Latvia's Gosplan is planning a mighty increase in industry in Riga. This will set the tone for the resort area and neutralize its therapeutic factors. Fifteen years ago, economists calculated

that further industrial growth in Riga would be very uneconomical and illogical and that it would tear the capital to pieces—that it would convert it into a warehouse city and a factory city. There have been resolutions by the Latvian Council of Ministers about banning the further construction of industrial enterprises in Riga. However, here is the evil of the command and administrative method of management—it is not capable of understanding the calculations of economists and the advice of scientists.

We all read the newspapers and know about the disastrous situation in other resort areas. Enormous social, economic and moral valuables are being threatened. The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers can emerge as the initiator in defending the country's unique resort areas and declare the Gulf of Riga and its coastline to a depth of 40 kilometers a recreational preserve. The construction of new industrial enterprises and the expansion of existing ones would be banned in this zone, including Riga.

This is within the competence and prerogatives of the republic's Council of Ministers. This fully corresponds to a whole series of USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on resort areas and to existing environmental protection legislation and it guarantees the carrying out of obligations under three international conventions on protecting the sea.

Our generation turned out to be incapable of using nature's priceless gifts advantageously. We, however, can preserve them from destruction, defend them against ecological ignoramuses and preserve them for our descendants who will be, undoubtedly, wiser than we and will establish a relaxation industry here.

**K.Segleniyetse:** A. Umbras's article is extremely topical. At the present time, you see, catastrophic polluting of the environment is being observed and ecological questions are questions of survival. The author presents a great deal of factual material and verified statistical data that describe not only the condition of nature but also the condition of the population's health. The spread of certain diseases in the resort area of Yurmala is being observed more frequently than in the republic on the average.

It is necessary to listen to the author's opinions and to his specific proposals which have a great deal of practical significance and which are aimed at protecting nature in the Yurmala resort area that is widely known not only in this country but also abroad.

**T. Baranova:** The author has raised the problems in Yurmala which today disturb the republic's entire population, including the Trade Unions Council. A plenum of the Latvian republic's Trade Union's Council examined ecological matters, in particular, during May. At that time, appeals demanding the closing or immediate—sooner than the republic's Council of Ministers commission proposed—re-direction of the Slokskiy

TsBZ, which were addressed to the government's representatives who participated in the plenum, sounded from the podium. A. Umbras talks about the results of this plenum's work in his article. A letter with similar proposals was sent to the Latvian Council of Ministers.

At one time, it was decided to move the Pioneer camps from Yurmala to Kestertsiems. Their construction there, alas, "was frozen" because of the restricted capabilities of the contract organizations who are now basically engaged in completing production projects. You see, however, cleansing structures are also production projects (!). Moreover, they directly link the production sphere with the social one. Today, we do not have pure water, clean air, and normal conditions in Yurmala for the children who come there for their health. The industrial overpopulation disturbs us. B. K. Pugo talked about this during the 19th All-Union Party Conference and A. Umbras writes about it.

I would point out that the contribution of the trade unions to the ecological movement could be great. Our letter to the republic's Council of Ministers and the film "I Have the Right" are only the first steps on the path of struggling to preserve the environment. We do not plan to swing off that path. However, for the earlier adopted resolutions that were mentioned in the article and future decrees to be effective, the joint work of party, economic and trade union agencies is required—especially work with the main coordinator: the councils who must be genuine masters on the spot and have responsibility for the ecological situation on their entire territory.

**From the editor:** This article was published in the Latvian language in the CINA and PADOMJU JAUNATNE newspapers. Little time has passed since the day of its publication, but this time has been filled with events. It has turned out that many share the author's point of view. The republic's Council of Ministers has examined the problems involved in protecting the Gulf of Riga and the Yurmala resort area and has already made its first decisions about accelerating the construction of cleansing structures in the cities of Riga, Yurmala, Bauska, and Yelgava.

However, there are still no official answers or decisions on a number of the proposals contained in the article. In our opinion, this can weaken the effectiveness of the measures adopted. At the same time, one cannot forget that seven resolutions by the republic's government on constructing cleansing structures in Riga have already been adopted since 1971. Five of them have not been carried out, and the progress in carrying out the last two is causing misgivings.

The Baltic Slavic Society was established in the republic on 30 July. The organizing of public monitoring of the implementation of environmental protection measures at all levels will be one of its tasks. A. Umbras, the article's author, is on the temporary coordinating council of the Baltic Slavic Society and is participating in the establishment of an ecological committee for the revival of the

Baltic Sea. In particular, this committee will assist in the timely commissioning of cleansing structures. One can regard several propositions in the article as program ones for the public committee's future work. One can prevent an ecological catastrophe only by combining all forces.

**UkSSR: Obkom 1st Secretary Notes Official Concern Over Power Plant Projects**

18300210a Kiev *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* in Russian  
11 Nov 88 p 1

[Article by L. Sharayev, first secretary of the Ukrainian CP Nikolaevsk Obkom: "Will the Southern Bug Survive?"]

[Text] The construction of the South Ukrainian power complex consisting of an atomic power plant (4 units with capacity of 1 million kilowatts each) and 3 hydro-electrical power stations with overall capacity of 2.3 million kilowatts is being implemented in accordance with the USSR Power Program and the decisions of the directive organs. The project for the power complex which is to be built in two phases has been coordinated with the government of the republic and has passed all expert commission reviews specified by law for facilities of such scope.

Recently in the oblast many public organizations, entire labor collectives, and individual citizens have spoken out with demands to halt construction of the second phase of the complex according to the project currently in effect and to reject plans for building two more million-kilowatt capacity power units at the atomic plant. The republic press also included itself into the polemics around this major construction site and into a discussion of the problems of environmental protection in connection with the operation of the complex. The oblast newspaper YUZHNYAYA PRAVDA has introduced a regular column entitled "The AES and Us".

Naturally, the sharpness of discussion of these questions by the community, as well as the problems of preserving the environment of the region and especially the Southern Bug River, on whose banks two-thirds of the oblast's population lives, has attracted close attention from the party oblast committee and the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies ispolkom.

We have repeatedly addressed the USSR Council of Ministers, the UkSSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the UkSSR Academy of Sciences with the expression of our opinion as to the INEXPEDIENCY of building a third phase, with requests to review all aspects of construction of the second phase of the complex and to express their opinions on the problems which we and the community have raised. These questions are still under review, and we have no answers to them.

In connection with the publication of the article entitled "Will the Southern Bug Survive?" in *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* on 14 October of this year, and considering the fact that the questions raised in this article demand response by competent specialists and organizations, the party obkom turned to the USSR State Committee on Environmental Protection and the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium in letters numbered 406 and 408 respectively and dated 21 October 1988. These letters asked that another expert investigation be held regarding the second phase of the project to determine its correspondence to the requirements of environmental protection legislation and to determine the attitude toward the construction of two additional AES power units.

In turn, the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies ispolkom turned to the USSR State Committee on Science and Technology in letter No 05/7-1647/11 dated 17 October 1988 with a request for its conclusions regarding the possibility of rejecting the construction of the Konstantinovskiy and Aleksandrovskiy water reservoirs on the Southern Bug during operation of the second phase of the complex. This is also with consideration of the fact that the creation of the water reservoirs was tied in with the coverage of the river by the Dnieper-Bug hydroelectric station, whose construction has been halted.

**Update on Pollution, Health Problems Caused By Tajik Aluminum Plant**

18300210b Tashkent *PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian  
4 Nov 88 p 2

[Article by V. Neyburg, *PRAVDA VOSTOKA* correspondent: "Once Again About Losses and Lessons" First two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] The Tajik Aluminum Plant went into operation in 1975. Its presence dealt a tangible blow to the environment in the south Surkhandarya. This was related in the article entitled "Sariasiysk Drama: Losses and Lessons" (*PRAVDA VOSTOKA*, 29 March 1988) [For a translation of this article, see pages 37-38 of the JPRS report SOVIET UNION: POLITICAL AFFAIRS, JPRS-UPA-88-020, dated 6 June 1988] and other publications.

What was the reaction of the plant management toward the statements of the press? At the request of the editors, the following persons went to visit Tursun-zada: Kh. Sharfudinov, chairman of the Surkhandarya oblast agroindustrial complex; V. Khomyak, first secretary of the Sariasiysk party raykom; V. Khasanov, head of the Laboratory for the Study of Environmental Impact on Public Health, Uzbek SSR Scientific-Research Institute on Sanitation, Hygiene and Work-Related Illnesses, and our correspondent. We are publishing the report on their trip.

Before beginning my account of the trip, I would like to share some additional information.



Professor V. Khasanov, along with a large group of medical specialists, is studying the health conditions of the residents of Sarianskiy rayon. Having warned us that only the first steps have been taken and it is too soon to speak of results, Vafiy Khatypovich drew a depressing picture. For example, the residents of the Kolkhoz imeni Sverdlov and the "Dashnabad" sovkhos are suffering from diseases of the oral cavity and the respiratory organs, and other illnesses have been recorded for many of the adults and children.

"The examinations and analyses leave no doubt that the primary reason for the illnesses is the content of fluorine substances in the soil, and partially also in the air. These are emitted into the atmosphere by the plant," the professor believes.

The Surkhandarya oblagroprom and the Sarianskiy party raykom have many documents at their disposal. Their authors—scientists and specialists—convincingly affirm that the harvest of silk cocoons and fruit has sharply declined in the rayon's farms. Sad is the fate of the famous Dashnabad pomegranate—the best among other varieties by its taste qualities. In recent years its kernels have lost both their attractive appearance and their inimitable taste.

...We came to the plant together with the first secretary of the Tursunzadevskiy party gorkom, A. Khasanov, and the gorispolkom chairman, A. Gvozdev. We met with plant Director M. Sinani and Deputy Chief Engineer for Environmental Protection, V. Stekolshikov.

The managers do not deny that previously the output of fluorine substances significantly exceeded the allowable norms. We might add that any fluorine output is generally not acceptable. There is, however, an indicator called the MAC [marginally allowable concentration]. This is when even with the strictest adherence to technology a certain part of the fluorine substances nevertheless can get into the air, and then also into the soil. Thus, the concentration of these substances must be the marginally allowable one.

"Our plant is built according to the latest technology which allows us to perform production without polluting the environment," says the director, and backs up his words with an entire series of proof which evokes no doubt.

With the arrival of Mikhail Fedorovich Sinani, an experienced specialist and excellent organizer, the amount of harmful pollutants was sharply reduced. According to the instructions, the plant's laboratory service must take 50 measurements of the fluorine content in the air a year. Now such measurements are taken on a daily basis, and specifically on the territory of Sarianskiy rayon. We saw the log book where the measurement data were recorded. Cases of exceeding the MAC are not frequent, but they do occur. Here are the conclusions of A.

Shukurov, chief of Tadjikgidromet [Tajik Hydrometeorological Service]: "Pollution of the atmosphere in the zone of operation of the aluminum plant in the first half of 1988 was characterized as insignificant".

"See the smoke coming out of the plant's smokestacks? Please do not think that these are harmful pollutants," said the director. "This smoke does not contain any fluorine substances. Most often unpleasantnesses with fluorine happen in the shops, if one of the workers is careless and leaves the electrolyzers open. In order to intensify control, we have established a round-the-clock watch by the engineering-technical personnel in the shops. This gives a tangible result".

A program of work for improving the ecological situation in the Tajik Aluminum Plant's region of operation has been developed at the plant. This program is planned through the end of the current five-year plan and for the following one.

The enterprise has undertaken modernization of the electrolyzers in a number of the units so as to ensure their air tightness. Outdated electrotechnical equipment and electric gas purification filters are being replaced, and many of the shops are being retooled.

"In 1990 harmful pollutants will be almost entirely eliminated, we guarantee. Any test will not reveal even the slightest deviation from the MAC," A. Gvozdev assured us.

Why, then, do we need a program of work for the 13th Five-Year Plan if already in the current one everything will be in complete order? They explained to us that equipment becomes outdated and modernization is necessary because without it, it would be difficult to ensure environmental safety.

Sarianskiy rayon residents are already seeing positive changes. Now the harvests of cocoons and fruits have become higher. Yet how can we compensate for the losses to the national economy caused by disruption of the ecological balance? Also, the health of the people is of particular concern.

The plant managers and the party gorkom and gorispolkom have an understanding attitude toward the publications in PRAVDA VOSTOKA and other newspapers and the speeches on radio and television dealing with the harm done by the aluminum plant. We have become convinced that much is being done to radically change the situation. However, we must agree with their opinion regarding the lack of competence and the prevalence of emotions over facts in some speeches. We cannot keep quiet about these things.

The author of the article entitled "The Sarianskiy Drama: Losses and Lessons", an UzTAG correspondent, is right about many things. However, the publication is not devoid of contradictions. The journalist persistently



repeats: Surkhandarya must demand monetary compensation from the plant for the loss which has been inflicted. He refers to the thoughtlessness of the officials which kept us from getting millions of rubles which could have been used to build a preventative health treatment center, hospitals, etc. Yet here we also read: "The industrial waste has been superimposed over a depressing social background". The author is referring to the oversaturation of the soil with chemicals, the poisoning of the air by coal-burning boilers, and the neglected state of the medical services... And so it is in the proverb: "Why bother counting gossips..."

Finally, only the kolkhoz or sovkhoz, and not the oblispolkom, have the legal right to present a bill to the plant. However, to this day the farms do not have sufficient scientific substantiation for demanding compensation.

The correspondent is far from the truth when he claims that "the farm managers and community" of Tajikistan have presented a bill to the plant, demanding compensation for the damage that has been done. And the longer things go on, the worse they get. "And now the decision has been made: To allocate the first 40 million rubles for creating a sanitary zone around the city of Tursun-zade". The matter is not one of initiative by the "farm managers and the community". The funds have been allocated for creating a zone not around the city, but around the plant. They have been allocated for moving kishlaks and farm structures out of the 4.5 kilometer zone. This is certainly not compensation, but rather funds for measures which were envisioned in the construction of plants like the Tajik Aluminum Plant.

A group of Uzbekistan scientists responded with an emotional outcry to the article "Sariasiysk Drama..." on 15 July. [For a translation of this article, see pages 106-108 of the JPRS report SOVIET UNION: POLITICAL AFFAIRS, JPRS-UPA-88-044, dated 3 October 1988.] They were indignant at the fact that the "journalist disagreed with the proposal of the Surkhandarya and Tashkent residents to close the aluminum plant", at least temporarily. The Surkhandarya residents never posed the question of closing the plant (we might add that the chairman of the Surkhandarya oblispolkom, Kh. Berdyev, writes about this in the very same issue of the newspaper).

The plant is using the most advanced, ecologically pure technology of those which exist in world practice. The main thing is to achieve strict adherence to all technological regulations.

Yet on the other hand—we must vitalize the social background of the Sariasiysk and Denaus rayons, introduce new hospitals, attract trained physicians, and improve municipal services...

### **Estonian Application of Economic Leverage in Environmental Protection**

*18300209a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 12 Nov 88 p 2*

[Article by L. Simagina, senior economist, ESSR Gosplan Conservation Department: "Payment for Waste: Economic Leverage in Ecology"]

[Text] Perhaps never before has there been so much talk about the subject of environmental protection. Matters that previously were of concern only to specialists have gone beyond the walls of offices and laboratories and become of vital concern to us all—from the writer to the tiller of the soil. It is no accident that the ecological sore spots of Estonia have served to spur the creation of the People's Front and Green Movement.

We are concerned not only with the phosphate problem. Witness a less well-known but no less bitter fact. According to up-to-date statistics (1988) from the Estmelio-proekt [Estonian Reclamation Planning] Institute, in recent years there has been a rapid deterioration in the quality of water in shaft wells, which are the principal source of drinking water in Estonia. Whereas five years ago half the wells were contaminated by nitrates on farms with a high rate of productivity, now three-fourths of them are contaminated.

The fact that this condition was brought about by the development of industrialization and by economic activity needs no explanation. But an explanation should be given for why these processes led to the destruction, rather than to the improvement, of the environment—which is to say, to better living conditions. One of the fundamental reasons for this is that the planning process was carried out not in accordance with need but gross output indicators. The result was not only production (and overproduction) of products that society does not need, but a correspondingly intolerable expenditure (and overexpenditure) of natural resources. For example, only about 5-8 percent of the raw materials of our local ground rock phosphate are used to produce phosphate fertilizer in the final stage of producing superphosphate (as an additive to reduce acidity). On the whole, only 7 percent of the raw material in mineral form is used to extract the final product.

Economic policy and ecological policy are as inseparable as Siamese twins, the general circulation of which is in the form of natural resources and capital investments in the development of production. Planning on the basis of the end product should therefore serve simultaneously as a means of using nature efficiently. If we speak of it as an economic mechanism, then a change in planning should lead to substituting, in place of indicators of volume in taking protective measures and of expenditures in bringing them about (which are in effect at the present time), indicators of the final results of the exploitation of nature—that is, the state of the environment. This means

not only devising and establishing standards governing maximum allowable conditions for the environment, but establishing corresponding standards for the economy.

Scientists and specialists at the Economics Institute of the ESSR Academy of Sciences and the Estmelioproekt Institute, as well as at a number of administrations and departments, have long been among those of us in the republic concerned with the economics of exploiting natural resources. The fundamental principles have now been worked out for using such a powerful means of leverage as payments for natural resources and injurious waste discharges. This means that enterprises must answer in terms of rubles for each ton (or cubic meter) of contaminated water, air, or rock, which previously was thrown out into the environment virtually with impunity.

At the same time, the size of capital investments for conservation measures is to be taken into account with due regard for the harmfulness as well as the volume of industrial wastes (discharges). Standard rates of deduction are to be established per unit of discharge. The more harmful the pollution and the more people or ecologically vulnerable sites to be found under its influence, the higher the deduction. For discharges of contaminating materials above established norms, fivefold payments are to be made. The source of these payments is profit from which the deduction is placed in a special account of the enterprise's conservation fund.

This economic mechanism will begin to work only when the established amount of payment for pollution exceeds expenses for conservation measures; that is, when it will be advantageous for the enterprise to engage in conservation activities. Moreover, a document is already in existence which creates this incentive. This is the Law on State Enterprises (Associations), which provides a system of economic measures to combine the principal task of the enterprise to manufacture industrial products with the preservation and improvement of the environment. There is only one way to resolve this problem, by making the transition to an ecologically improved technology. It is costly, but there is no other way out. Moreover, it will lead to a reduction in the amount of natural resources consumed in production.

The decree of the republic Council of Ministers and the party Central Committee, adopted in March, entitled "On the Radical Restructuring of Conservation Measures in the Republic" provides for the introduction of standards and payments to be made for waste discharge. Operation is already under way. A special schedule of payments has been set up for utilization and contamination of water resources. As an experiment, the amounts of such payments have been computed for one of our major enterprises, and one about which continual criticism has been heard—the Estonslanets Industrial Association. The total amount is impressive: the sum of payments amounts to 26 million rubles in a year. The plan will incorporate such surplus balances from the use

of natural resources in the case of 300 basic industries in the republic closely associated with the use of natural resources, which are the chief offenders in polluting the atmosphere.

Of course, it would be more correct to consider the payment for waste discharge as an economic sanction, inasmuch as it will reduce the balance-sheet income of the organization. There is only one justification and incentive for such large material expenditures. Clean air, clean water, and a landscape that is not disfigured by quarries. In short, the world of nature, which it is our duty to protect and, wherever we have succeeded in doing it harm, to make better.

### **Pollution Linked With Health Problems in Podolsk**

18300209b Moscow LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA  
in Russian 29 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by N. Leontyeva, head of the industry section of the city newspaper PODOLSKIY RABOCHIY: "To Breathe or Not To Breathe: Ecology and Economics"]

[Text] Residents of Podolsk are 70 percent more likely to contract a disease of the lungs than city dwellers living under similar conditions elsewhere in the RSFSR.

Podolsk is one of the major industrial cities of the Moscow area. Those who live there have therefore always spoken of it with pride. Now they say this in apprehension and dread as they gaze at the smog which at times hangs over the central part of the city, near the station, and over the northern microrayon, where gray columns of smoke rise from the chimneys of two cement factories. According to Goskomgidromet [the All-Union State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control], this smog over the period of a year weighs 64,000 tons, and it contains carbon monoxide, nitric oxide, and so on down Mendeleyev's Table. Such is the alarming chemical "potpourri" in the area's watershed—the Desna and Pakhra rivers, the small streams, and brooks.

The problems that have accumulated in the ecology of Podolsk are so diverse and far-reaching that they cannot all be discussed at once. But the fact that they should have been dealt with by this time is apparent to everyone. This was the subject of discussion at a meeting of the Podolsk gorkom buro in January of this year. The resulting resolution makes it mandatory to undertake extraordinary and radical measures to restore the ecology of the atmosphere in the area.

What sort of measures? Basically, managers of enterprises and building organizations, together with the executive committees of city rayon soviets, are required to carry out what they were charged with doing under the plan in years past or during the current year under the comprehensive program. In the resolution, incidentally, it was noted that the tasks of rebuilding and expanding

sewage and purification installations and constructing conservation projects at the storage battery plant, the cable plant, the mechanical engineering plant imeni Kalinin, the cement plant, and the Klimov sheet metal plant were being poorly carried out.

More than 20 enterprises currently discharge inadequately treated and altogether polluted industrial as well as natural drainage into the rivers. Out of 44 purification plants presently in operation, 27 of them do not meet required standards. The deadlines for the erection of purification facilities at the USSR arts fund combine, the cable plant, and the meat combine have been postponed by Mosoblstroy Trust No. 1.

How many times the water main has broken that leads to Kraynaya Street from the small but essential sewage pumping station built during the Second Five-Year Plan. Year after year, beginning in 1984, the work schedule of the collective PMK-495 of Gosoblspetsstroy Trust No. 4 for the fourth line of the city purification plant has not been fulfilled. A. S. Yermeyev, general director of the Podolsk Electrical Engineering Plant, has for nine years been nurturing a promise that construction of a purification plant for processing the discharge from five enterprises at the mouth of Chernyy Brook would soon commence.

This does not complete the list of unfulfilled obligations, which is disturbing in and of itself. But many enterprise managers, who have played a role in this process of deliberate procrastination, have once again sloughed off the outlined schedule, hog-tied by departmental instructions from the ministries and their superiors.

At the entrance to the territorial hydrometeorological laboratory of the Moscow-Omsk Basin Administration (MOBA) in Podolsk, it is possible to read on a stand: "First-Aid Station for Various Kinds of Poisoning." And further on: "Lead and its compounds, toxic fumes—report immediately to the hospital." Here, we may familiarize ourselves with frightening information that somehow does not bother us in the course of normal, everyday life.

At one time the Podolsk storage battery plant began its operations by refining 10,000 tons of lead a year. The purification plant, built in 1958, was designed to accommodate a maximum of 15,000 tons; and later, following a partial renovation, 18,500 tons. But the annual refining of lead at this time comes to more than 42,000 tons.

Certainly, the country needs cars and tractors, which would be unable to move about without storage batteries. But USSR Minelektrotekhprom accelerated production without special funds. For the sake of justice it should be said that the former director, Yu. A. Yegorov, who is now on a pension, and who in his turn received

the Red Challenge Banner for the branch, said in handing it over, "It would have been better if modernization of the plant had been authorized." How many doors he knocked upon!

The new director of the battery plant, S. V. Zubkovskiy, received his assignment to the post last year, one might say, together with the renovation project, which is to cost 25 million rubles. Of this amount, 4 million is earmarked for developing environmental protection projects and a sanitary zone. The modernization is scheduled to take several years. But what about today and tomorrow?

The seepage of lead continues in the intensively used but unfinished equipment. The runoff from rain and thunderstorms carries the lead to the river, into the soil and the underground water table. According to rough approximations, 1,200 tons of lead accumulated this year in the area of the plant itself. It has now been collected for the most part for refining and utilization. The measures taken by the present administration to return the atmosphere of the industry to normal, however, were yet to give substantial results. Then there was a clap of thunder.

On 22 December of last year, on the basis of a report by MOBA and the Public Health Epidemiological Station on the grave ecological situation, which had developed, as was stated in the report, as a consequence of the unimproved technical equipment and the increased refining of lead, oblast environmental protection organs issued a decision, the name of which speaks for itself: "On the Cessation of Production Activity by the Coating Section of the Casting and Coating Shop."

A week later, on 31 December, the authors of the resolution received an official letter from the director of the storage battery plant. He informed them of measures carried out and of radical changes to come in connection with the modernization, and requested that the decision be revoked. At this point some "big guns" were moved up to join the battle for keeping the contaminating section open in the form of a barrage of letters signed by O. G. Gavrilov, USSR deputy minister of the electrical engineering industry, and subsequently by O. G. Alfimov, the minister.

On 20 January 1988, the decision was "temporarily suspended as an exceptional case..." and, so it was supposed, "in view of the assurances of the plant manager and the Scientific Research Institute for Storage Batteries (situated in Podolsk) regarding the introduction of new machinery and the repair of the regulatory systems."

Later, in accordance with instructions from the USSR Council of Ministers, on 23 March a working group of Moscow Oblast ispolkom conducted an inventory of the buildings and made the decision "to carry out the modernization and expansion of the storage battery plant without increasing the amount of lead output

together with the priority construction of a purification facility." The project, however, remains as it was, but with an increase in lead refining of 5,000 tons, while no one has started construction of the priority purification facility.

While this war of paper was going on, inspectors of MOBA on 21 April conducted monitoring tests and on 29 June they included tests of the battery plant operations with those of the neighboring Giredmet Chemical Metallurgy Testing Plant. Tests at the city main sewer showed that although the discharge into Chernyy Brook has improved, conditions at the sewer are 340 times worse! And the lead content in the city's atmosphere is 16 times in excess of the allowable norm.

What does the long-awaited modernization amount to? It is a laborious construction project that will take many years on a small section of an enterprise in operation. Moreover, it is situated near—just across the railroad tracks from—a residential microrayon with the reassuring name of Park Place. It is therefore not surprising that the suggestion should recurrently be made to move the harmful industry out of the city. But this proposal always meets with the opposition of management, including that of the present plant director. And why should he, who was formerly gorispolkom chairman, and before that was second secretary of the party gorkom and chairman of the city Committee of People's Control, not know what to do with this industry for the good of Podolsk?

Other arguments, voiced by S. V. Zubkovskiy, are the old-fashioned ones: The country needs storage batteries. And why should we be the ones to have to move out? The main roads into the city are overloaded with vehicles, it is further alleged, and they emit as many lead compounds into the atmosphere and the soil as the storage battery plant does.

Actually, one cannot but agree with the latter contention. Nevertheless, according to the findings of specialists from the Scientific Research Institute for City Planning under the Moscow Oblast ispolkom, 60 percent of the motor vehicles that cram the city roads are involved with operations in the industrial zone. Once again the situation is attributable to the super-industrialization of the city.

I heard the following declaration in the Podolsk Public Health Epidemiological Station: It is not the storage battery plant that was situated next to the residential housing; it is the microrayons for housing that were put up next to the industrial zone. Moreover, it is apparent that this was done because of the notoriously "cheap" technology available. Houses were built where it was easier to connect up to already installed utility lines.

Nevertheless, it occurs to me that the complex of ecological problems cannot be resolved by an over-stretching of commitment, whether the stretching is done by the ministry or by local authorities. Minelektrotekhprom takes up a considerable area in Podolsk and is represented by several

enterprises. Among them, in addition to the storage battery plant, is the Mikroprovod Plant and the Cable Plant imeni Klement Gotvald, which are now united under the authority of the cable plant, as well as the testing plant for the Scientific Research Institute for the Cable Industry. And each one has its own environmental illness. By combining their forces it becomes possible to resolve speedily the tasks of modernization while renovating production and purification facilities.

The effect of uniting forces may be foreseen by the example of the merger of Mikroprovod and the cable plant. Included in the work of the association is the toxic enamel-coating of fine wire. Six years ago the veteran women workers of the enameling process, while still young, were pensioned off. They had been shock workers—industrial leaders—and are remembered for not sparing their energies or their time in mastering a new technology or taking precautions as they engaged in the alchemy of enameling. Very well—they earned their pensions. These obliging women acknowledged, as they told me about it, that they would not be able to bear any children. I asked them: "Did you know that the work was hazardous?" "Of course, but there were lots of privileges, we were young, and we didn't think about it."

I have been told that the project to modernize the enameling section has been approved. Recently, a commission was invited to formally accept the drainage purification plant. Replacement of the old enameling equipment with new, more advanced equipment has already commenced. One hundred and seventy tons of the most toxic chemicals have been taken out of production. The renovated production process of the modernization project will fully provide even for burning up harmful gases.

Once again: When will this take place? Of this no one at the plant has any definite idea since Minelektrotekhprom has not even made plans for its by no means under-powered Construction Repair Trust No. 3 to do this work in the near future. The industry managers are transferring the burden of modernizing their own plants onto the shoulders of Mosoblstroy No. 1, the Podolsk general contracting trust. But it does not have adequate resources.

Is USSR Minelektrotekhprom really the only powerful industry that has settled in Podolsk? The principle of cheap technology has been at work in the deployment of plants under various departments: Glavspetspromstroy's hydro-engineering plant for testing pile-driving equipment; Oblremstroy's reinforced concrete products plant (attached to Malakovka); the Klimov agricultural machinery organization (whose headquarters is in Lyubertsy); the plant for fireproof products and geological prospecting equipment. These "giants" often conduct themselves like utter strangers.

Last year MOBA filed a damage claim for 107,420 rubles against the pile-driving equipment plant for damage to the countryside. On 8 March, a holiday, an alarming report was received that the city purification facility was filled with mazut and that petroleum products were on the Pakhra River. P. P. Maslak, head of MOBA's Podolsk zone, immediately went with colleagues of his on foot from one sewer to another. All the sewers were filled with mazut. He traced the mazut to the boiler room of the pile-driving equipment plant, where a break was found in the pipe that transported it. So the declaration and damage claim came about. However, the state arbitration board of the Moscow Oblast ispolkom set the claim aside on the grounds that this was a "heterogeneous" [chuzherodnyy] plant that did not fall within the purview of contractual obligations at the production and technical association (PTA) of the urban economy. This fine has now been "left hanging" at the Podolsk PTA.

Thus there can be no doubt that the economic troubles of Podolsk have resulted from the fact that its industrial zone has reached critical limits. Yet now, in the face of this fait accompli, the environmental protection services in charge appear to be helpless and extremely inadequate, notwithstanding the fact that there are responsible people working in them who are shouldering a heavy burden. But they are not provided with enough equipment. They can only dream of detection instruments, and they lack even the transportation for operational supervision.

Three job positions for Gospromgidromet in a center such as Podolsk is clearly not enough. Enterprises, for example, must have consolidated data on wind directions and information about everything that affects ecological conditions adversely. As the main doctor at the Epidemiological Station, L. A. Mosolova, informed me, data for the past month was made available to the Podolsk ispolkom. But the data was not even published. Moreover, it is simply not possible for a few MOBA inspectors to keep under surveillance the river basin from Oduntsovo to Domodedovo—such is the region they serve.

And what about the Epidemiological Station with its subordinate position and the material resources of the Central Rayon Hospital? It is worth bearing in mind with regard to sanctions in the form of fines that they are like a grain of rice to an elephant for the rest of the enterprises and their managers. The local soviets should determine the size of a fine, based on what constitutes a real loss, and have it deposited in the city treasury.

MOBA inspectors and Epidemiological Station doctors have long proposed the establishment of a coordinating center for environmental protection. Incidentally, the same suggestion has been repeatedly made at meetings of the city rayon soviets.

Meanwhile, there is every reason to place our hopes in the courage and fortitude of those would defend every living thing. How the departments react to their instructions has been discussed above. MOBA and the Epidemiological Station have already this year taken steps to shut down production units at the Plant imeni Kalinin as well as at the cable and cement plants, and the workshop of applied chemistry at the Krasnaya Pakhra has temporarily been brought to a halt.

Often nowadays supervisors at various levels in Podolsk may be heard to say: "How can production be halted?" It can be, and indeed it must be to comply with the law.

At a meeting that recently took place in Podolsk of the the city executive committee with the authors of the General Plan for Moscow and Moscow Oblast, O. P. Gorshkova, chief project engineer from the Scientific Research Institute for City Planning, directed the attention of the gathering to a comparative study made available by the institute. Persons living in Podolsk are 70 percent more likely to acquire a disease of the lungs than city-dwellers living under similar conditions elsewhere in the RSFSR. Childhood diseases are 80 percent more prevalent; various forms of cancer 25 percent more prevalent; eye diseases 52 percent more prevalent, and diseases of the skin are 82 percent more prevalent. These are overall figures without taking into consideration the quality of medical services or social conditions.

Architects, engineers, and scientists of the design institute have proposed the development of an extensive housing construction project in South-West Podolsk, near the reservoir in an area with a clean environment. The construction of new microrayons to accommodate more than 40,000 residents is scheduled for completion before the year 2005. This, however, is only a partial solution to the crisis, and one that still lies in the future. Whereas a decisive breakthrough on behalf of man and nature is necessary today.

#### Activities of Ukrainian Environmental Groups Noted

18300205a Kiev *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* in Russian  
4 Nov 88 p 4

[V. Kolinko Novosti report: "What Is the 'Green Wave' Doing?"]

[Text] Kiev—Perestroyka has engendered an unprecedented explosion of civic assertiveness. A manifestation thereof has been the formation of independent interest groups. Particularly representative among them is the ecology movement born of the inauspicious state of the environment.

And this is not, moreover, only a movement of opponents of this S&T project or the other capable of harming nature. It is further an association of people endeavoring

to make their personal contribution to an improvement in the ecological situation, be it the greening of localities or participation in the cleanup of bodies of water.

Groups of young people in sportswear carrying shovels, rakes and plastic bags are showing up regularly in the parks and squares of Kiev and the areas of new construction sites on the outskirts of the city. These are workers, students and research personnel devoting their free time to cleaning up Kiev's recreation zones and new construction areas. The "green wave" is what this youth movement has come to be called.

An initiator of the movement, Nikolay Dudenko, graduate student of the Kiev Pedagogics Research Institute, says:

"The first international ecological voluntary Saturday work day was held last fall in the 'Elk Island' National Park near Moscow. The mass 'Wave of Peace' peace action was staged at that time worldwide, and thousands of Muscovites, who were joined by foreign students studying in Moscow VUZes, took it upon themselves to put in order the precious monument to nature, which, owing to the inactivity of the leadership, had begun to degenerate. This example brought into being a movement of followers. Kiev enthusiasts called their movement 'Green Wave'.

"But this is just one of a multitude of ecology associations in the Ukraine. For example, a motorship with an expedition organized by the 'Green World' association, which operates under the aegis of the republic Committee for the Defense of Peace, set off along the Desna. A large group of young scientists, lawyers and journalists were pursuing the goal of investigating the problems of this river, which runs through areas of industrial and intensive agricultural production. These investigations will subsequently be collated, and the findings and recommendations sent to the republic government."

A similar action is under way on another river also—the Dnestr. It has been organized by the "Lvov Society". The aims of the expedition are the same, but the makeup of the participants is far broader: writers, artists, historians, social anthropologists.

"I do not doubt that these and similar expeditions will be of great benefit," Nikolay Dudenko says. "It is, of course, very important to point out existing shortcomings to the authorities. True, the participants in such activities perform the role of observers to some extent. We, on the other hand, believe it more important to do something ourselves, making a real contribution to the eradication of the shortcomings. Our 'Green Wave' is trying to do its own work to make Kiev the cleanest and greenest city of Europe. Similar associations are operating in other cities also. Their number is growing. For instance, at certain chemical enterprises the Komsomol and young people are organizing voluntary Saturday

work days, working without pay on the modernization and upgrading of purification installations and joining in other work aimed at protecting the environment."

#### **Political Issues Sidetrack Kiev Ecology Group Meeting**

18300205b Kiev *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* in Russian  
16 Nov 88 p 4

[RABOCHAYA GAZETA correspondents A. Glazovoy and V. Smaga report: "Difficult Lessons of Glasnost"]

[Text] Kiev—The ecology is now perfectly justifiably considered the second problem, after the threat of nuclear war, of planetary significance. In fact, the boundary between them is arbitrary—inasmuch as it is a question of the survival of mankind. The Chernobyl tragedy, the accident in Stebnik and the deterioration in the ecological situation in Zaporozhye, Cherkassy and certain other cities of the Ukraine testify convincingly that questions of the conservation of nature are acute in our republic also.

A public meeting under the slogan "The Environment and Us" was held in Kiev on 13 November. Its initiators were "informals"—the "Spadshchina" Ukrainian studies club, the "Gromada" student association (Kiev State University), the "Green World" association and the "Noosfer" environmental association. Other of the capital's environmental organizations: the "Green World" youth ecology center, the "Green Charity" independent association and "Nebaydyzhi" took part.

The meeting's organizers had applied to hold it in good time. The Kiev Gorispolkom had given its consent. The meeting was held in the square at the Central Stadium.

The meeting was opened by the poet Dmitro Pavlychko. He spoke of the alarming ecological situation in the republic, the difficulties being encountered today by perestroika and the need for more active support for the democratic processes in our social life. D. Pavlychko expressed the opinion that it was necessary to create in the Ukraine a mass public organization which would unite all who aspire to promote perestroika.

Yuriy Shcherbak, writer and medical practitioner, criticized department officials who are stubbornly ignoring public opinion and the impartial findings of specialists. This applied primarily to the USSR Ministry of Atomic Power. It was said also that the republic Ministry of Health was not contributing to the dissemination of objective information concerning the consequences of the Chernobyl accident.

The meeting was also addressed by the writers V. Yavorivskiy from Kiev, the Lvov citizen R. Bratun and L. Taranenko from Cherkassy and D. Grodzinskiy, corresponding member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, well-known specialist in radiology. In their speeches the Moscow scientist F. Shipunov, doctor of

economic sciences, and Yu. Vysochin, leader of the Cherkassy "Ekologiya" Society, raised acute ecological problems connected with environmental pollution.

Serious and important matters were discussed by V. Kubrak, deputy chairman of the UkSSR State Committee for Protection of Nature, and Yu. Kocherga, deputy chairman of the Kiev Gorispolkom. But, unfortunately, there were among the participants in the meeting people who attempted to prevent them expressing their opinion. This fact testifies that we all still need to learn well the standards of democracy. The years of stagnation have disaccustomed many people not only to thinking and speaking cogently but also listening attentively to others. There are also many people who succumb easily to emotions and meeting euphoria.

The speeches of the guests from the Baltic—representatives of the Latvian Popular Front and the Lithuanian Perestroyka Assistance Movement—were heard attentively. It should, however, be noted that they deviated considerably from the subject of the meeting, and the guest from Armenia and certain other speakers, who tried in vain to put all their eggs in one basket, as they say, moved quite far away from ecological problems.

The speeches of S. Doroguntsov, chairman of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Council for Study of Production Forces of the UkSSR, and V. Pivovarov, professor at Simferopol University, were notable for their thoroughness, realistic scientific analysis and aspiration to map out specific ways of solving urgent ecological problems. The time has come for actual work. And of the greatest benefit to a solution of the republic's ecological problems are those who are capable of submitting for public examination a positive action program. The ecological situation in the republic is, indeed, complex. But should we go to extremes: undue emotional desperation or, on the other hand, bureaucratic optimism? No one will save our nature except we ourselves. Public opinion buttressed by in-depth scientific analysis must be the decisive force at the time of confirmation of new projects of chemical works, nuclear power stations, reservoirs....

All that is typical of the complex times of renovation of social life could be heard at the meeting. There were excited, sincere speeches of concerned people. But there was also outright demagoguery. There were clever, cogent speeches of well-known specialists, but there were also, if you'll permit the expression, "generalizations," which evoked laughter from those present.

It was very good that the meeting was attended by representatives of nature-conservation, party, soviet and trade union bodies. They could see for themselves that there are in the independent associations many people who sincerely support perestroyka and ardently aspire to make their contribution to the cause of protection of

their land against the threat of ecological catastrophe. But there were also people who are (and this could be seen at the meeting) in the grip of resounding phrases far removed from reality.

The nature-conservation movement is a most general and, on the whole, positive phenomenon in our life born of perestroyka. And whoever stubbornly refuses to notice it or is frankly afraid of it demonstrates a relapse into the ailment of the times of stagnation—isolation from people's interests.

The meeting demonstrated to us how many concerned, patriotic people we have who are capable of serious business. The meeting passed a resolution calling for full glasnost in questions of the ecology and the holding of referenda on ecological issues, primarily in the sphere of nuclear power. It will be conveyed in the form of an appeal to the UkSSR Supreme Soviet.

#### **Workers Protest Political Motives of Moscow Environmental Group**

*18300205c Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 29 Nov 88 p 4*

[Ye. Rubleva report: "Irresponsibility"]

[Text] A meeting organized by the "Mayak" ecology action group and registered with the Tushinskiy Rayispolkom began at midday on Sunday, 27 November, in Tushinskiy marketplace. The discussion was to concern the rayon's environmental improvement. An important discussion, there being enough problems here, and this was why about 150 people had gathered in the square. It was intended that the meeting would adopt a program which would help preserve and increase the green zones of the old homesteads and help combat the filling in of springs, streams and rivulets.

But yesterday there lay on the editorial desk a letter. Workers of Moscow's "Krasnyy Oktyabr" Mechanical Engineering Plant Ye. Goryunov, A. Khudykh, A. Semenov, I. Solomovskiy, V. Shkarban, N. Selivanov, M. Moskvita and A. Ilin wrote that the meeting had been a manifest failure. The discussion had been in a different channel. "Environmental problems were replaced by a discussion of political issues. And the position of many of the speakers, furthermore, contained no constructive proposals, and criticism became carping."

"What actually happened," we asked S. Karmanov, head of the Tushinskiy Raykom Propaganda and Agitation Department.

"To call things by their proper name, it was a provocation. The subject of the meeting was changed as it went along. Discussion of environmental problems was reduced to a minimum. Representatives of the 'Civic Dignity' and 'Perestroyka-88' groups and the Moscow Popular Front proposed support for the amendments to the constitution which had been adopted at a session of



the Estonian Supreme Soviet. It was proposed to the participants in the meeting that they adopt a resolution against the amendments to the constitution which have been published."

There is no doubt that the question of nationality policy is virtually the most painful, most free-bleeding issue for us today. And everyone has the right here to have and express his personal opinion. We need both street meetings and discussions in the workforce on this problem. How such discussions should be held and what the share of responsibility of the speakers for what is said from the platform of public gatherings might be is another matter.

And here let us return once again to the workers' letter: "We heard at the meeting that the working class is not, apparently, participating in the process of the elaboration and discussion of legislation, and they called on us to boycott the Supreme Soviet session. And this after amendments to the legislation in question had been adopted in the shops of our plant. We were then told that people working at the plants were not following political processes and that the amendments to the constitution had been discussed formally.

"After some hesitation, the meeting's organizers afforded us an opportunity to speak. But they tried to prevent us, clearly unwilling to have our viewpoint be at odds with that expressed by the 'informals'."

Nonetheless, the workers' voice was heard.

"We support the open and honest discussion of our problems. We support democratic decision-making. Irresponsibility is impermissible. But it is thus, irresponsibly, that the meeting's organizers have behaved in directing the discussion into the channel of demagogic statements. As far as the ecology movement is concerned, it needs, we believe, a positive platform: struggle for waste-free technology, for efficient purification, for the rational location of enterprises. And struggle not only in word but in deed also."

Democracy is not demagogy. It would do none of us any harm to heed this position of the Moscow workers today.

#### **Political Agenda in 'Green Front' Alma-Ata Meeting Revealed**

*18300205d Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 88 p 2*

[S. Petrov report: "You'll Get What You Give"]

[Text] At all times the high water level of social life is fed by the springs of popular action. This truism was confirmed even in the stagnation years: here and there fresh streams of thought and non-clichéd solutions which engendered conduct which evoked the astonishment and subsequently the anger of decorous bureaucrats broke through the sticky ballast of sets of instructions, codes and command-style pompous triviality. The majority of us today

clearly understands that it was precisely such undying processes which prepared the economic and political reform of our society, opened the locks of democracy and glasnost and ultimately restored to society a most important spiritual tuning-fork—social optimism.

Approximately such animated deliberations accompanied me last Saturday as I was making for the Alma-Ata House of Scientists for a meeting of activists of the "green front" with the city's leaders. The discussion appeared interesting—on practical steps to improve the environmental situation in the capital.

That from the very first months of perestroika there has been an increase in the general interest in environmental problems is not surprising.

And here we were in the hall of the House of Scientists. As anticipated, I saw around me persons directly concerned: Gorkom Secretary Sh. Omarov and also A. Minibayev, first deputy chairman of the gorispolkom, who had recently been elected democratically (about which much has been written by the press, central included), had also come to the meeting. And how could they have done otherwise: the leading municipal organizations have the material resources and real authority. The public, in turn, could be a mine of practical ideas and a real nature-conservation force. Both are fellow citizens of the city, "all equal before the smog"! So it was not a question of dividing but of consolidating. And there were things to consolidate for.

It was not easy for A. Minibayev: the stream of questions, seemingly, would never dry up. And the city's deputy mayor should be given his due—he left practically none of them without a competent and businesslike counterproposal.

A woman rose in an emotional, excited state and with inner anguish, but not without aggressiveness in her voice, to say that virtually the whole enlightened world had converted motor transport to blue fuel, and it was only with us that there had been no changes. It was ascertained that this was far from being the case. Alma-Ata had been one of the first cities in the Soviet Union to take steps in this direction. In addition, the gorispolkom was now directing its efforts toward ensuring that a new filling station unfailingly be commissioned this year. And a further four new ones would appear in the future, which would make it possible to refit a large number of vehicles.

The young people are interested in leisure facilities, in connection with which there is indeed a difficult situation in Alma-Ata. The solution of the problem is connected more often than not with material resources. And here also is a wealth of potential. Each rayon, for example, receives considerable amounts from rent payments for the provision of courtyards with amenities and so forth. Just one—Alatauskiy—receives over R150,000,



and there are eight rayons altogether. It is not difficult to calculate what a sizable sum the city accumulates annually. The question is: how is it being managed? And what are needed here are not only specific proposals but also volunteer community-minded assistants, whom the gorispolkom awaits.

A municipal environmental protection committee was recently formed in Alma-Ata armed with the most essential powers, down to the stopping of enterprises' operation. A. Minibayev's proposal was constructive: we are prepared to unite all interested "ecology groups" to coordinate actions and will wait for all who so desire each Saturday at 1400 hours in the gorispolkom. If this is not sufficient time, we will fix extra time on another day of the week.

It was not difficult to see that many of the questions had been born of the townspeople's inadequate information concerning the status of many matters.

The members of cooperative societies showed an unexpected side. The participants in the meeting greeted with applause the words of V. Solomin, leader of the "Soyuz" Cooperative Association, to the effect that members of the cooperatives could allocate large sums of money to the "green front" enthusiasts for good work, and in addition, they were prepared to tackle many problems. Of course, they needed efficient, practical people here, and not lovers of general deliberations.

A. Kuvin, chairman of the Alma-Ata Youth Associations Foundation, shared with us the work that had been done and his plans. Young men and women had invested much effort in the cleaning of Lake Sayran and the channels and banks of the Almatinka. Next in line was a socioeconomic experiment pertaining to problems of finding work for the youth, adolescents particularly, at their request during vacation. In addition, the young people were making metrological surveys of the state of the capital's atmosphere....

It may be said that the first meeting of the "ecologists" and the city's leaders was a success, and specific steps for practical work were outlined. And this is the constructive approach to the solution of many urgent problems.

But mention has to be made of something else also. The businesslike dialogue caused disgruntlement in some people. The public meeting had also attracted those who, availing themselves of the opportunity, were attempting to assemble "recruits" for a dubious cause, employing perestroika slogans for this.

As soon as an atmosphere of mutual understanding had been established in the hall and the discussion on nature conservation had gotten under way, the shrill voice of one Almas Yestekov butted in. The anger of those present was evoked by his words to the effect that "you should not trust the Bolsheviks, they haven't solved a

single problem." And this was said to people who understand full well that the party was not only the initiator and inspiration behind but also the organizer of perestroika. A young man in a thick woolen sweater sitting next to me muttered, when passions had subsided: "Provocateur". Meanwhile Yestekov spoke candidly: he had come here not to discuss environmental problems but to find recruits for the ranks of the so-called "Democratic Union," which, according to him, intends uniting the Crimean Tatar national movement, the Imanat (Islam and democracy) movement, the Environmentalists Association and the "Civic Initiative for Perestroika" association. With such a motley company of an anti-Soviet core the slogans were florid also: "Democracy Will Save the World!" "Art Will Save the World!" "Ecology Will Save the World!"

Not only he attempted to break up the consolidation which was taking shape. Representatives of the so-called "Alma-Ata Popular Front," whose constituent attempts KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA described on 17 November in the report "As a Matter of 'Declaration' and in Point of Fact," also persistently imposed themselves as popular leaders. Incidentally, Yestekov and some of his ilk had been invited to this meeting as "Popular Fronters". Speaking on behalf of the latter was Ye. Sheyger, who works in the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, agitating for the creation of a "headquarters for bringing order to bear in the city and implementing radical perestroika in full" (no more, no less!), and based on the "Green Front," "control groups for instituting social and environmental order". To persistent questions from the floor as to how he conceived of this, Ye. Sheyger was unable to respond.

Both anger and smiles were elicited from the sober-minded by another person working in television, L. Kuznetsova, who "belongs to no organizations," by the fact that she reacted to everything enthusiastically, with the aplomb of a born leader. And it became clear to everyone what she amounted to when at the protesting reaction of those assembled in connection with Yestekov's sententious utterances concerning the Bolsheviks she almost affectedly shrieked: "Why don't you let him speak? It is very interesting!"

Incidentally, about leadership. Sheyger, Kuznetsova, Yestekov and their ilk laying claim to the front row in the people's columns and appealing to people for consolidation "in the name of perestroika".... Perhaps there is in their social luggage a "moneybox of good deeds"? As familiarization with their resumes has shown, nothing of the sort. And here the not-new question of moral right, at the very least, involuntarily suggests itself.

Food for thought:

Yestekov, Almas Rgalbayevich, born 1956, a Kazakh, nonparty, incomplete higher education, divorced. Served in the army 1975-1976, next 2 years studied in the Alma-Ata Railroad Transport Engineers Institute,

sent down for unsatisfactory progress. Concrete worker in Alma-Ata's Construction and Installation Trust-16. In 1982-1983 studied in the Kirghiz Polytechnical Institute, then in the All-Union Cinematography Institute. In 1985 he was sent down from the Cinematography Institute in connection with his conviction under article 224 part 3 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (for the manufacture, storage and sale of narcotic substances) by Moscow's Frunzenskiy Rayon People's Court. While serving his sentence in Kalininskaya Oblast at construction projects of the national economy he was convicted for a second time under article 196 part 1 for forging documents. Released in May 1988. Not working at the present time. Arrived in Alma-Ata as a representative of the Tashkent "Union of Democratic Forces".

So a very useful meeting of activists of the "Green Front" and the "city fathers" was held. Enthusiastically, with ideas for practical work and complete mutual understanding. Despite the fact that lovers of self-seeking ambitions and political speculation and simply bawlers had attempted to warm their hands here.

Writing up the report, I involuntarily thought: it is a great thing, the democratization of society. It has not only emancipated people's minds but also clearly revealed their natures and their very different essence, which were frequently hidden beneath good-looking loyalty in the stagnation period. As life today shows, this brought many people to a state of split personality. Democracy has restored to people the benefit of such contact as the assembly and meeting and the possibility of discussing the problems troubling them. But the time has come to act also. It is time when, attending a meeting, to ponder what one is carrying with one—something specific or a saucer to receive one's "portion of democracy".

The times are forcing us in many respects to learn from scratch.

#### **Official on Military Environmental Protection Efforts**

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in Russian No 21, Nov 88 pp 21-22

[Interview with Lt. Col. Yu.A. Sorokin, director of the USSR Ministry of Defense's Environmental Protection Inspection, by Lt. Col. O. Sedykh: "Environmental Protection: The Inertia of the Old Approach" under the "View at the Problem" rubric; first paragraph is a boldface introduction]

[Text] The agency is called the USSR Ministry of Defense's Environmental Protection Inspection, not a typical name for a military body. The following is an interview with its director, Lieutenant Colonel Yu.A. Sorokin.

[Sedykh] How pressing are ecological problems in the army and the navy?

[Sorokin] We are used to seeing people in uniform come to nature's rescue at its first call and selflessly combat the consequences of environmental disasters. Let us recall Chernobyl and the danger that threatened neighboring cities and towns from the accident at the nuclear power plant. The courage of Soviet soldiers greatly helped to keep the disaster from spreading.

There are dozens of examples of soldiers' solicitous attitude toward nature; they treat her as though they were her own sons. But let us be frank: there are so many deficiencies in our environmental protection practices that we simply can not remain silent about them.

Everyone has heard of the catastrophic pollution in Lake Ladoga and of the deplorable condition of Lake Onega. But few people know that Lake Bolshoy Kisevach, rightly called one of the treasures of the Ural region, is gradually becoming a filthy puddle due to continuous pollution from a public bath and laundry complex. Or here is another example: in the North Fleet, an extremely small share of garrisons is equipped with sewerage treatment facilities.

Sometimes we cause forest fires, or dump petroleum products into waterways, or pollute garrison towns with garbage. The system to control toxic exhausts on motor and armored vehicles is catching on very slowly.

This is why a pressing need has arisen to set up special entities which would use authority invested in them by the government to reduce the harmful impact of man upon nature and help foster careful attitude toward it. This is the aim of our agency, and of similar inspections set up at military districts and fleets. There is also a similar nationwide organization, the USSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature.

[Sedykh] Judging by the examples you have cited, the inspection has its hands full. What areas does your work cover?

[Sorokin] Our most important activity is, of course, planned inspections. Members of our staff usually travel to a fleet or a military district; there they thoroughly analyze the state of environmental protection work in units and on bases, insist that appropriate commanding personnel took immediate measures to correct existing problems and lecture to the troops.

[Sedykh] Have there been any improvements?

[Sorokin] It is too early to speak of this.

[Sedykh] Why?

[Sorokin] The main problem is that people persist in their ingrained view of environmental protection as an unimportant, secondary business and remain convinced that shortcomings in that area would be punished by nothing more serious than a mild reprimand. Is this not

the reason why, despite the Minister of Defense's insistence, many units and agencies have not yet appointed outside environmental protection inspectors and have not produced general plans for environmental protection measures?

The inertia of the old approach reveals itself also in the attitude to staff inspectors at military districts. Despite the enormous volume of work they must accomplish, their ranks have been cut in half and the remaining personnel is assigned to other tasks.

Without broad support from the public in the army and the navy, it would be difficult to achieve radical changes. And what do we see today? Environmental measures are carried out only at a handful of places and instances of polluting the environment do not get adequately punished. In this area, at least, the public has not yet expressed its opinion.

[Sedykh] Where do you think the work should begin in this area?

[Sorokin] In the first place, we should begin by teaching modern environmental attitudes to soldiers. Every soldier and sailor must be fully aware of his responsibility for the protection of nature, and know that whenever he leaves trash in the woods or spills gasoline on the ground his actions are incompatible with human morality.

I would also advise environmental protection activists not to wait for someone else to come and institute environmental protection at their units; they should be bold and do it themselves. I am sure that in many cases they themselves would be able to stop those who violate environmental protection laws.

So let us jointly protect the environment, so that we could pass clean seas, rivers, fields and forests on to our children and grandchildren as their legacy.

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